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FROM THE EDITOR

With this issue of *Children's Folklore Review*, we had hoped to enter the brave new world of electronic publishing. The Children's Folklore Section has authorized this move for a number of reasons. The most important reason for becoming an e-journal is to relieve the section and the journal of dependence on any university, and especially on East Carolina University, for the funds necessary to print *CFR* every year—a cost of between $2000.00 and $2500.00 annually. This new freedom would mean that the current editor and subsequent editors can do the job without having to find a funding source and without having to be tied to a particular location. In addition, electronic publication on the American Folklore Society's website would make the journal more immediately available to more folklore scholars than ever before.

Obviously we have not been able to make that move—yet. Moreover, for the first time in quite a while, we are well behind our publication schedule. First, two of the articles were quite late coming in, and we had to chase people all over the country to get them, and by the time they had come in, I was ready to head for Roanoke, Virginia, and my summer position at Hollins University. Second, and more important, my Associate Editor, Laurie Evans, has resigned, and she was the one who did the camera-ready copy (a skill that your neo-Luddite editor does not possess). I now have a graduate assistant, Matthew Finch, word processing like mad, and Morgan Printers will take a raw disk from me and convert it. So, volume 29 is in process the week before AFS in Quebec, and I hope to have it in the mail before Christmas.

In terms of contents, this issue varies little from previous ones. The four major papers—Miyuki Hirayama's "Jizo-bon in Kyoto Today: Celebration of Children and Community," Dana Hercbergs' "Children's Spaces and Mobility in Jerusalem Neighborhoods," C.W. Sullivan III's "Seuss on the Loose: Children's Folklore on the Internet," and Carole Carpenter's "Herbert Halpert: Childlore Scholar"—are papers from the "Children's Folklore" panel at the 2006 annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Milwaukee. The volume also contains Contessa Small's Newell Prize paper, "Co-Creating Harry Potter: Local Expressions of a Global Phenomenon" and the usual announcements.

Will this be the last print version of CFR? (suspense music in the background) Stay tuned …

C.W. Sullivan III
CFR Editor

JIZO-BON IN KYOTO TODAY: A CELEBRATION OF CHILDREN AND COMMUNITY

MIYUKI HIRAYAMA

Toward the end of summer, when children's summer vacation is coming to an end, Jizo-bon takes place in the neighborhoods of Kyoto. On street corners or in back alleys, in front of the small shrines in which a Jizo statue is placed, both children and adults gather; the streets are enlivened by children's laughter. Red and white lanterns tell where a Jizo-bon, one of the most popular festivals among children in Kyoto, is taking place in a neighborhood.

Jizo-bon is a festival performed for the Jizo deity[1] a Buddhist bodhisattva. A bodhisattva is a compassionate figure who, while exploring the path toward the highest form of existence, remains in this world to help those who are suffering. In Japan, Buddhism is often associated with funerals and memorials for the dead and less related to children or childhood. But Jizo is an exception: he is considered the guardian deity of children. He is often found in the form of a stone statue with a gem in the left hand and a stick in the right. This symbolizes his mission to walk throughout the world and save anyone in need. Jizo's *ennichi* (festive day) falls on the 24th day of every month, and on August 24 a special celebration, Jizo-bon, takes place for Jizo. Although Jizo-bon is a festival to celebrate a Buddhist deity, it has become a customary folk tradition in neighborhoods in Kyoto, regardless of the origin. It is one of the most important neighborhood events in Kyoto.

The purpose of this article is twofold: to describe Jizo-bon, a child-centered festival, in the context of urban life in Kyoto, and to interpret its meaning and function for the community and for children. This essay consists of four parts. The first part demonstrates the images and folk beliefs regarding Jizo reflected in a folktale and in legends in order to provide the background on Jizo. The second part explains the city and its neighborhoods where I conducted my fieldwork on Jizo-bon. I focus mainly on daily life of the residents and culture surrounding Jizo. The third part describes Jizo-bon as I participated in the celebrations. I lived in a neighborhood in Yoshida, Kyoto, and participated in Jizo-bon each year from 2003 to 2005 as a resident and as a participant observer. In the summer of 2006, I visited Jizo-bon in different neighborhoods in the area, observed the process, and interviewed the residents including both adults and children. The final part discusses the function and meaning of Jizo-bon.

Jizo-bon is a complex social phenomenon; it has many functions and various meanings. In interpreting its meaning and function, two perspectives are adopted. One is the perspective from a neighborhood community. For leaders of a neighborhood association, the goals are to bring people together, to provide an opportunity for communication among members of the association, and to promote community solidarity among the residents. Jizo-bon provides the opportunity to accomplish these goals as it involves both a symbolic folk object of the community (Jizo) and communal recreational activities.

There are various symbols involved in Jizo-bon. The most important symbol is Jizo himself, because this is a celebration on his festive day. In Kyoto City, it is believed that a Jizo statue in a neighborhood protects the children and the neighborhood community. As Victor Turner suggests, it is crucial to examine symbols in process (1982, 20), so my examination includes how the group acts on Jizo, and how people behave toward him. Further, I argue that the space in front of Jizo, created and shared by neighbors, has a symbolic meaning in the context of contemporary social life in urban area. How is the special space created in a neighborhood during Jizo-bon? How are the festive activities organized and why? How are social interactions among neighbors during the festival different from those in daily life? What kind of roles do children play in Jizo-bon? By answering these questions, I will explore the symbolic meaning created by performing Jizo-bon. Simon Bronner suggests that we should be conscious of the ways children's folklore is exhibited in various media (2002-2003, 101). In my analysis of Jizo-bon, I will pay an attention to how playing children are "displayed" in the festival structure.

Next, the meanings of Jizo-bon are explored from the perspective of children. Jizo-bon provides children with both social and cultural experiences and, in particular, with arenas for learning social relations that children do not often have in their daily lives. The festival also offers children opportunities not only to learn about the cultural heritage of a neighborhood but also to express themselves in games and in play with neighborhood peers.

Jizo in Folk Narratives

Jizo is one of the most popular Buddhist deities in Japan. Some Japanese call him Jizo-sama indicating their respect, while others call him Jizo-san indicating a sense of familiarity or closeness. One of the fundamental characteristics of Jizo is his generosity; he rewards people for goodwill. This feature of Jizo is reflected in the following folktale, "Kasa-Jizo", which is well known among children as well as adults, and is the most often recited narrative of Jizo in Japan:

> Once upon a time, there was an elderly couple who made a living by making straw hats. They were too poor to buy food for the New Year. On New Years Eve, the old man went to town to sell the hats, but no one bought them. On the way back home, he saw six stone Jizo statues along the road. Jizo looked freezing cold in the snow, so the old man felt sorry for them. He put the hats on the statues' heads, but he realized that since he only had five hats, he needed one more. So he took of his own hat from his head, and put it on the Jizo's head. When the old man returned home, he told his wife about the incident. His wife was happy to hear what he had done. Early on the morning of New Year's Day, the elderly couple heard a noise—it was the Jizo statues in the straw hats bringing rice cakes and fish for the New Year as well as vegetables and sake.

This story exists with many variations in the details. The number of Jizo statues ranges from one to twelve; the work of the elderly man differs. Yet the basic structure of the narrative is the same: the old man sacrifices himself in order to help Jizo, and in return the Jizo images bring plenty of food on the New Year's Day.

Another important characteristic of Jizo is his close relationship with children. In the *Konjaku monogatarishu*, compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century, there are many tales in which Jizo takes the form of a child and helps people (Komine 1994, 4-59). In *Jizobosatsu reigenki*, which was also complied around this time, this close relationship between Jizo and children is also observed. Considering the fact that other Buddhist deities do not take a form of a child, we may say it is a characteristic unique to Jizo. In the following legend, Jizo takes the form of a child-monk:

> Once, there was a poor but pious peasant who prayed to Jizo daily. One summer he became involved in a fight over water for irrigating his rice paddy. He was badly injured so he had to stay home and recover. A child-monk stood in his rice paddy and poured the water into it. When

> the peasant's enemy saw the child-monk, he shot him with an arrow. When the arrow struck the child-monk in the chest, he disappeared. When the peasant recovered, he found his rice field filled with water. He felt grateful and went to the front of the Jizo image to pray. When he looked at the statue, he was surprised to see dirt on the statue's feet, and an arrow stuck in his chest….(Komatsu 1992, 70-74)

As can be seen, the ending of the tale implies that it was Jizo who took the shape of a child-monk and sacrificed himself to help the pious peasant.[2] Taro Wakamori argues that the belief in Jizo as a guardian deity of children originated in the notion of Jizo appearing as a child (1983, 56, 67).

Another legend, *Sai-no-kawara*, illustrates more directly the relationship between Jizo and children; it shows the folk belief in Jizo as a protective deity of children. This legend also demonstrates that Jizo not only protects living children but also saves the souls of young children who have died. *Sai-no-kawara* is a riverbank, a marginal place between the worlds of the living and the dead. It is believed that all children who die under ten years of age gather at the banks of the Sai River where they pile up stones for their living parents, reciting prayers for them. The legend of the humming of the *Sai-no-Kawara* gives us an idea of the close relationship between Jizo and children. The summary of the legend as follows:

> There is a very sad story. At the riverbank, which lies between the world of living and the world of the dead, little children were piling stones to make towers, saying, "The first stone is for the happiness of my father, the second stone is for the happiness of my mother, and third stone is for the happiness of my brothers and sisters." But as the sun went down, a demon appeared and destroyed the stone towers with an iron stick and ordered the children to pile them up again. At that very moment Jizo appeared with the night breeze. Telling the children that he would protect them like a father and mother in the other world, he compassionately held them within his robe, letting them sleep in peace….[3]

As this legend illustrates, Jizo's main characteristic is that of a merciful protector of children.[4]

Daily Life in Yoshida, Kyoto

Kyoto City, where I conducted my field research, is located almost in the center of Japan's main island, Honshu. It is the capital of Kyoto prefecture with a population of approximately 1,475,000.[5] Kyoto City is divided into 11 wards, which are further divided into *cho* (neighborhoods). Kyoto has a long cultural and historical tradition, having been the capital of Japan from the end of the eighth century to the latter half of the nineteenth century. It lies in a basin surrounded by hills, so it is hot and humid in summer and cold in winter. The Kamo River, which provides the urban residents with a green space, flows north-south through the city. Kyoto is also known for the imperial palace, and many Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples including a number of world cultural heritage sites. To the west of the Kamo River is the old part of Kyoto, which is laid out along a grid, with the axes running north/south and east/west.

Kyoto is also noted for having a number of Jizo statues. They are not only found in Buddhist temples, but have also been enshrined in the streets or at crossroads. In Kyoto City, it is said that there are approximately 8,000 to 10,000 small stone Jizo images but the exact number is unknown (Takemura 1994, 6). Most of the stone statues in the streets or at crossroads are Jizo, but we cannot assume that all of the stone images in neighborhoods in Kyoto are Jizo. Besides the Jizo images, there are also *Dainichi-nyorai* (Vairocana Buddha) stone images in the neighborhoods.

Most of the neighborhoods in Kyoto have a stone statue, either Jizo or Vairocana Buddha, to care for, but there are some neighborhoods which do not have one. This is especially true in newly developed residential areas or condominiums. When a neighborhood does not have a Jizo, often the neighborhood association still organizes a summer festival without Jizo at the time of Jizo-bon; or they may rent a Jizo from Mibu Temple, famous for its many Jizo statues.

I mainly conducted my fieldwork in some neighborhoods in Yoshida and its adjunct areas, which lie in the northeast part of Kyoto City, east of the Kamo River. In present-day Yoshida, Kyoto University occupies a large space along with Yoshida Shrine and its precincts. Except for these public spaces, the neighborhoods in these areas are urbanized cityscapes; they are densely populated and little private space remains unused; there are neither rice fields nor vegetable fields.

Yoshida and its surrounding areas were mainly agricultural hamlets until the turn of the twentieth century. When Kyoto University was founded at the end of the nineteenth century, there was an increase in rooming houses, apartments, and privately owned restaurants; the hamlets growing rice and vegetables began to change (Suzuka 2000, 25). The neighborhoods in this area now include small shops and businesses operated as household enterprises, and apartments for the university students. Quite a few of the residents are landlords of the rooming houses and apartments for university students.

Yoshida is further divided into neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are administrative units, and are also self-governing organizations that work for the improvement of their living environments. Households are members of the neighborhood associations, not individuals, and membership is voluntary. In this area, the number of households ranges from as few as thirty to as many as 130. Each neighborhood association is a social unit which is a bounded entity with an executive committee consisting of a president, a vice-president, and a treasurer. Although there are many university students living in this area, neighborhood associations do not include university students, probably because they live in a community only temporally.

In the northeast part of Ushinomiya-cho, a neighborhood of Yoshida, about half of the households moved into the neighborhoods after the World War II. About half of the households are long-standing residents, some of whom have known each other from their elementary school days. While there are households in which three generations live together, there are quite a few households in which an elderly couple or an elderly man or woman lives alone as the children have grown up and moved out. There are a few young couples with one or two children. Therefore, there are not many children, and there are many more elderly people in the neighborhood. One of the longstanding residents in his late sixties commented that when he was an elementary school student, there were a lot of children in the neighborhood because each household had four or five children.

In the past, community members took some responsibility for child rearing. Shizuko Koyama, in a historical study of the Edo period from the17th to the19th century, has illustrated how child rearing was a function shared by the local community (2002). Moreover, Konosuke Fujimoto points out that after the World War II, especially after the rapid economic growth in the 1960s, the circumstances dealing with children have changed. He adds that among the three areas of socialization of children—the home, the neighborhood, and the school—school education has become most important and influential in recent years, while community involvement has become less important (Fujimoto 1996, 187).

Presently, there are only three children from the northeast section of Ushinomiya-cho who go to the elementary school. Several other children join them from the northwest section of Ushinomiya-cho at a certain point, and they walk to school together. This is a group prearranged by the elementary school for the safety of the children, reflecting the increase in crimes committed against small children. Around eight in the morning, children's lively voices and laughter breathe life into the streets of the neighborhoods. After children leave for school, the neighborhood remains quiet until midafternoon when the students come home with their friends. After school, children whose parents both work go to a daycare center located the opposite the elementary school. Others return home and then meet with their friends or go to various lessons, such as swimming, English, piano, and *juku* (special examination preparation schools). While I was living in the neighborhood, I rarely saw children playing in the streets of the neighborhood. Elementary school children tend to visit friends of the same age at their houses, play video games at a friend's house, or play in a park. If students want to play at school, they are allowed to stay in the playground until 4:30. Playing after school is an unsupervised activity. There is a big junglegym with slides and some iron bars for gymnastics. Children play on these or play with balls. They often play tag or hide and seek in the open fields. Children also play in the garden, looking for insects or other creatures.

Various folk religious traditions are ingrained in the daily life in Yoshida. People visit Yoshida Jinja (a Shinto shrine) to pray for a happy New Year on New Year's Day. They also visit the shrine for the *setsubun-sai* (a festival at the end of winter) in February, the spring festival in May, and the fall festivals in October. In August, the residents participate in Jizo-bon. Japanese people often pray to the gods at a Shinto shrine and to the Buddhas at a Buddhist temple for protection and for good luck.

Jizo images are placed along roadsides or at junctures where two or three roads meet. In Yoshida and surrounding areas, quite a few Jizo statues can be observed. A neighborhood takes care of at least one Jizo, and sometimes two or three Jizo statues. There are some *Dainichi-nyorai* (Vairocana Buddha) standing in a little wooden shrine as well. The festive day of Vairocana Buddha is the 28th day of the month. But in recent years, about half of neighborhoods hold a ritual and celebration together with Jizo-bon around the 24th of August. If a stone statue is Jizo, in most cases, they are *Enmei* ("life-prolonging") Jizo, which are believed to protect children and the neighborhood.

The appearances of Jizo statues differ from each other. Jizo in neighborhoods do not necessarily hold a gem in the left hand and a stick in the right. Further, it is often difficult to recognize exact features of the face and body. One of the informants explained that the reason for putting make-up on Jizo is to make a clearer representation of Jizo. One Jizo statue, located at a juncture in a neighborhood, is seated on a green lotus, and has a radiating halo of bright yellow in the back. In another neighborhood, I observed a couple of Jizo figures standing together in a tiny wooden shrine. Some of them are plain, and others wear white make-up on their faces. In Kyoto it is popular to put white paint on the face of Jizo, with black eyes, hair, and eyebrows, a red mouth, and a red round dot in the center of his forehead.

The origin of some of the Jizo statues is unknown, but many of them were found in the last one hundred years. The residents of the area told me stories about how the Jizo were found. There are three main ways that Jizo were found and placed in the neighborhoods. The first is that it was found when a house was rebuilt. The second is that it was found in the river, and third is that it was found in the fields.[6] In each case, people explained to me that it is important not to move Jizo from the place where it was found. They said that Jizo statues were there for various reasons (implying that there was some power beyond human at work) and people should not move them for their convenience. There is also a case in which a Jizo statue was made for a memorial (Figure 1). An elderly woman told me:

> There used to be a mansion here. When a child in that rich family died, the child's parents made a Jizo and placed it in a *kimon* (unlucky direction). Don't you think the Jizo in the center is beautiful? That is the one. The other two were formerly in different shrines in the neighborhood, but the three are now all together in this shrine.[7]

In daily life, Jizo statues are often taken care of by elderly women who live near Jizo. They first clean the shrine, offer flowers, and burn incense. In recent years, however, in some neighborhoods, each household takes turns taking care of Jizo. In one neighborhood, for instance, I was told that they began to take care of the image on a rotating basis after an elderly woman, who had taken care of Jizo for more than thirty years, had died.

It was rare that I saw children stop in front of Jizo and pray while I was in the community, yet I did witness such an incident twice. One time a girl in the fifth grade stopped and put her hands together and prayed to Jizo; I did not ask her what her wish was. Another time I saw a boy in the third grade praying. He was praying for rain because he had a swimming class, which he hated, at school that day. He needed Jizo's power to cancel the class. I also heard that a mother of seven-year-old boy was invited to her son's class and talked about her experience with Jizo. She said in the class that her son dropped his favorite game machine in a ditch and could not reach it. After he asked Jizo for help, he was able to get it back safely.

Jizo-bon

Jizo-bon festivals share a basic structure in the preparations for the event and in what the event consists of. First, the committee in charge of Jizo-bon is formed and its members plan various activities. Second, on the day of the festival, the daily space of the neighborhood is transformed into special festive space. Third, the committee members, with the cooperation of the neighbors, arrange fun events for both children and adults.

The executive committee, in the case of northeast section of Ushinomiya-cho, is in charge of planning Jizo-bon in the community.[8] It consists of the longstanding residents who have known each other since childhood. About three weeks before Jizo-bon, the committee holds a meeting to plan the upcoming festival. I participated in the meeting in 2005 when the committee members invited some female members to think over the events of the Jizo-bon to make it more attractive and to draw more people around the Jizo statue. In the discussion of how they could attract more people around the Jizo, one of the leaders suggested that they should offer lunch on Sunday, which they did not do in the previous years. The female members suggested that they should include more activities for children such as painting on big lanterns and *wanage* (a Japanese game similar to quoits or horseshoes). They also discussed how to encourage junior high school students to participate in Jizo-bon and help, because they usually do not take part in Jizo-bon. By the end of the discussion, they had decided on a date to go shopping to buy prizes for the raffle, snacks for children, and other necessary materials for the games.

About a week before the festival, the executive committee sent an invitation letter to all the households in the neighborhood. The letter included a seasonal greeting for the end of summer and the schedule for the Jizo-bon. The feast day of Jizo-bon fell on August 24, so neighborhoods in Kyoto traditionally held the feasts on August 23-24. In recent years, however, most neighborhoods hold the feasts on the weekend closest to August 24, since the number of salaried men and women has risen. Not only have the feast days been moved to the weekend but also, in many neighborhoods, the feast days are only celebrated for one day instead of two.

In the northeast part of Ushinomiya-cho, Jizo-bon is celebrated for two days; the making of a ritual space is scheduled for nine in the morning on the first day every year. In 2005, when I participated in the event, even before nine, the neighbors had gathered in front of Jizo and began to work voluntarily. The first thing they did was to set up a white tent with the name of the neighborhood on it in front of the Jizo shrine. The purpose of white tent is twofold: to prevent people from getting wet in case of a sudden rain, and to demarcate the communal space during the festival. Another important item for preparation is arranging straw-mats. Spreading the straw-mats indicates that the space is like a home; not only does everyone take off their shoes to enter the space, but also they feel at home.

After the tent was set up and the straw mats arranged, red lanterns and white lanterns with a simple design were hung around the tent. On these paper lanterns, the name of the Jizo, Enmei Jizo, and the name of a child were written with a calligraphy brush. These were dedicated to the Jizo by a household in the community when a baby was born to the family. At night, lights were lit which provided a shimmering illumination.

In front of Jizo, offerings were placed on an altar made from a small table belonging to one of the neighborhood residents. While the men were putting up the tent, the women arranged the offerings to the Jizo. One elderly woman put flowers on the altar along with vegetables and fruits such as apples and a watermelon; another woman prepared food and drinks for the people at the gathering.

Another way of making a festival space is to move the Jizo image(s) to a larger space and make a temporary altar for the statue(s). The larger space can be a shed, storehouse, or garage of a member of the neighborhood association, or an apartment playground. If there is a large space in the neighborhood, a community may choose to use the space for their gathering every year. Or, the communal space for the Jizo-bon may change each year, if the household in charge of hosting the Jizo-bon rotates.

In 2006 in the Shogoin Kawara-cho neighborhood, for instance, at ten in the morning, two men began moving four Jizo statues from two small wooden shrines in different parts of the neighborhood to the temporary ritual space. The residents in charge had already gathered there, and had spread the straw-mats when the two men arrived there with the Jizo statues. The place was also draped with festive red-and-white bunting around the walls. Red and white lanterns with the name Enmei Jizo and the names of the children were hung at the entrance to the temporary ritual space. As soon as the two men brought in the Jizo statues, an elderly woman began to wash them. A middle-aged man explained to me that if make-up on the Jizo had faded away, they would redo it at the time of Jizo-bon. An elderly woman took the lead in arranging the altar because she was knowledgeable about how it was done. She asked the other residents if any babies had been born in their neighborhood in the previous year. In years when no babies have been born, the bibs would be washed instead of putting new ones on the statues. When a baby is born in the neighborhood in the previous year, it is customary for the family to donate a bib to the Jizo. On the top level of the tiered shelves, the washed Jizo statues were placed; on the lower levels, flowers, candles, red and white pieces of rice cake, fruits and vegetables, rice, and boxes of drinks were beautifully arranged and offered to the Jizos (Figure 2).

The ritual exchange of gifts, an important part of this celebration, highlights the concerns for reciprocity. During the preparation, neighbors dropped by to offer donations placed in red and white ceremonial envelopes which are customarily used for presenting money on festive occasions. The money that the neighbors contribute constitutes the primary financial resource in organizing the Jizo-bon: buying gifts for the raffle, items for children's play activities, food and drinks for the participants, and lunch and dinner. The neighborhood association treasurer receives them, and after he takes the money out and puts it in a safe place, the envelopes are placed on the altar near the Jizo. The contribution of money is done on a voluntary basis, but all the households which participated in Jizo-bon made a donation. The amount of donation depended on various factors such as the number of children in the household, the household's position in the neighborhood association, and the financial situation of the household.[9] Moreover, donations are not always in cash. Sake, beer, and other beverages are also donated to Jizo.

As the two examples have demonstrated, in the center of the shared public space stand a purified and decorated statue or statues of Jizo. It is in this space where various activities take place for one or two days. The schedule of events and activities are posted near the Jizo, and these planned activities attract many children and adults, but even between activities, children came out from their houses to play in the space, and the adults enjoy chatting, and drinking beer, tea or coffee (Figure 3).

The children who participated in the Jizo-bon of the northeast part of Ushinomiya-cho in 2005 included not only the children who live in the neighborhood, but also those who were visiting Jizo-bon because their grandparents lived in this neighborhood. About twenty children, whose ages ranged from two to twelve years old, participated in the festivity. Popular activities included making origami (folding paper), blowing bubbles, and playing catch with a soft ball (Figure 4). Moreover, objects such as ice, which was used to keep the drinks cold, and the water used for other games became their favorite toys. Being outside with other children in the festive space often led to spontaneous play among the children. For example, one girl began to play with some ice, and others joined in as they also found it fun to play with. One boy was enjoying playing with the water, and others also began to play. Two boys brought Nintendo games to the space in front of Jizo to play with other children. I also noticed that one child who was too shy to go outside and play with the children in his neighborhood felt comfortable to play under the tent. He was excited about the newly created space. I saw him playing with boys and girls that he rarely played with in everyday life.

The free play is "interrupted" by various activities which take place according to the schedule, which includes both aspects of ritual and entertainment. Although the ritual aspect relates to Buddhism, most residents do not see the festival as a religious event. However, performing a Buddhist ritual in front of the Jizo statue certainly reminds participants of the origins of the Jizo belief.

At one o'clock on the afternoon of August 20, 2005 in Ushinomiya-cho, a Buddhist priest in a purple robe arrived to perform a prayer ritual for the Jizo, to pray for the happiness of the children and prosperity for the neighborhood. This occasion attracted many neighborhoods. After reciting some prayers, the priest introduced the posthumous Buddhist name of a woman who had recently died in the neighborhood; he also explained that she had donated the new tent to the Jizo and the neighborhood association. The priest then shifted the topic to the Jizo statue: he explained where it originated and why it does not have a lower half of the body. One of the leaders of the community, a man in his late sixties, stated that the Jizo was discovered when his parents rebuilt their house about eighty years ago. He added that he did not know why, but the two other Jizo images found with it had the lower half of their bodies. He continued that three Jizo statues were too many for a small shrine, so he had asked Mibu Temple to keep the other two. The talk by the priest and the conversation after the ritual offered the opportunity to let people know about a death in the community, and to share the history of the Jizo in the community. In half an hour, the prayers to Jizo and talk by the priest had ended, and the priest left by motorbike. The residents who gathered for the ritual stayed and commemorated the woman who had died in the previous year.

In Ushinomiya-cho many neighbors gathered when the ritual for the Jizo was held by the priest. However, the children were not very excited about the ritual. One nine-year-old boy said he loved everything except the ritual. It was the only occasion in which the adults subtlety imposed control over the children. The children probably felt that they were expected to sit quietly as they listened to the prayers that they did not understand.

In Shogoin Kawara-cho, when I participated in the ritual in 2006, a Buddhist priest arrived at ten in the morning, and before the ritual she distributed to the participants a sheet of paper on which a Buddhist prayer was written. During the ritual, everyone including the children had a chance to recite it aloud with the priest. Afterwards, the priest talked to the neighbors about the expression of the Jizo statues in the neighborhood: she pointed out that the Jizo is smiling and looks very gentle and kind.

In many neighborhoods in Yoshida a prayer bead ritual was performed. In front of Jizo, the neighbors sat in a circle and passed around a long string of prayer beads one hundred times as the person in the center recited prayers and hit a gong one hundred times. It is a rule that when the prayer beads are passed around, if a large bead comes to you, you lift it up to your forehead. When everyone finished passing around the prayer beads one hundred times, they pressed the beads to each other's bodies, believing that the beads would keep them healthy and happy. This ritual can be fun experience for children, since it involves more action and participation. It is closer to "play" than just sitting and listening to the priest's prayers.

It is common in every neighborhood for each child to receive a package of snacks from the member of neighborhood association at three in the afternoon. In the case of the northeast Ushinomiya-cho in 2005, it was also the time for the popular children's game of catching goldfish. Many goldfish, both red and black, were put into large plastic cases filled with water. The children used a catcher made of paper to try to catch the fish before the catcher was soaked with water and fell apart (Figure 5). It is a popular game in Japan, especially during festivals, but Jizo-bon is the only time when children can play for free and as many time as they like. All of the families in the neighborhood that had small children gathered near the Jizo.

Some activities are also held in the evening. At 6 o'clock, the neighborhood association of northeast Ushinomiya-cho held a dinner party in a fancy restaurant near the neighborhood. This party attracted many more residents than the activities in front of the Jizo. The party began with an address by the president of the neighborhood association. He asked every resident to cooperate in making their community a safe and wonderful place to live. There were also junior and senior high school students in attendance who had not participated in other Jizo-bon activities. During the party, fun activities such as bingo took place. While I was living in that neighborhood, there was a dinner party at the restaurant every year. But during my interviews, one informant told me that this was a recent event, and that previously they had had the dinner party in front of Jizo. At night, children were allowed to play with fireworks in front of the Jizo. This is one of the children's favorite summer activities. The fireworks can include sparklers, rockets, and fountains, but in the limited space in front of the Jizo, the children played mostly with sparklers. They were all excited and shared the fireworks.

Many children I interviewed said that their favorite event was the *fukubiki* (a raffle). *Fukubiki* is a compound word that means to draw (pull out) happiness, and it is one of the most popular activities in Jizo-bon. In Ushinomiya-cho, the *fukubiki* was held on August 21, 2005. The prizes for the raffle were prepared in advance by the members of the executive committee for both the children and the adults. The number of residents who joined the gathering in front of Jizo was at its largest when the raffle took place. The prizes for the adults were practical items or daily necessities such as fans, frying pans, soap, and plastic wrap, whereas for the children there were toys and book coupons.

Fukubiki raffles function in various ways. From the perspective of the neighborhood leaders, they are a technique to attract more residents to the gathering. From the perspective of the participants, including both the adults and children, winning prizes and the element of chance are fun. Taking the whole festival into consideration, there is certainly a function of reciprocity. The residents receive a certain amount of value in return for their offerings to Jizo.

The descriptions of various recreational activities at Jizo-bon thus far have mainly been based on those of the northeast section of Ushinomiya-cho. There are many neighborhoods in the area that share the basic structure of the festival, but which have different activities. When I visited different neighborhoods in Yoshida and surrounding areas, I noticed that the committee members attempted to create various opportunities for children, which were different from one another in the particulars, but had common characteristics.

One of the most important characteristics is that of maintaining cultural elements from the past. For instance, in some communities the children enjoyed drawing or painting on the lanterns. They were encouraged to draw whatever they liked, so their pictures included popular TV characters and characters from games (Figure 6). It was special experience for children to paint on the lanterns, an activity which signifies continuity from the Edo period. Another example is traditional theater. In one neighborhood, a puppet play, which we seldom have the opportunity to watch, was performed for the children. In another neighborhood, one of the traditions is to show movies with a projector on a large screen. Although at present day every family has a DVD and video player, it is fun for children to watch movies on a big screen with other children in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the movie themselves tend to be traditional stories, such as folktales.

In terms of social relationships, in all activities, the adult members of neighborhood associations helped the children who needed it. Especially in activities such as catching gold fish or fireworks, the children need adult help so that they can enjoy themselves. These activities provide an important stimulus for the development of close ties among adults and children.

Finally, adults' recollections of their experiences of Jizo-bon in their childhood provide insights in interpretation of Jizo-bon in contemporary Kyoto. One middle-aged man explained excitedly that he got to stay up late, maybe until midnight. He went with a group of children of various ages to the ward building, which was very old and scary at the time, for *kimodameshi* (a courage-testing game). A similar story was told by a mother of two small children. She told me that one of her most memorable experiences was that the leaders of a children's group took the smaller children to a gravesite or to a scary spot at the university; in those days it was very dark so walking to those places was a scary and fun experience for the children. I was also told that during Jizo-bon, the neighbors were always in the space in front of Jizo, talking, eating and drinking and the children were also out playing all day on both of the festival days.

Function and Meaning

The previous section has described Jizo-bon in Kyoto. In this section, I would like to interpret the function and meaning of the Jizo-bon as it is enacted in Kyoto's urban neighborhoods. Two different perspectives may be useful in understanding Jizo-bon. One is the examination of function from the perspective of community, community leaders to be more specific, and the other is to examine it from the perspective of children.

The leaders of the neighborhood made much of the occasion of Jizo-bon to increase group solidarity and to create a sense of social identity. Fun activities were organized for both children and adults to encourage participation and communication among the neighbors. Further, eating and drinking together increased the sense of closeness among neighbors. In some relatively large neighborhoods, the neighbors cooked and offered homemade dishes that were well liked by children. Moreover, in quite a few neighborhoods, dinner was shared, either in front of Jizo or at another place. Almost all of the activities took place in the symbolic space which was created and shared by the neighbors. In the center of symbolic space stands the statue of Jizo, who is a protective deity of children and of the community. As Bronner (1986, 207) states, objects help communicate beliefs and also affirm them. By gathering near the Jizo, and with everyone making offerings to Jizo, the neighbors reaffirmed the belief that their community and children are protected by the Jizo.

Not only is Jizo a symbol, but also the space in front of Jizo where people gather comes to have a symbolic meaning: that of an "ideal" community. The image of an ideal community includes a space open to every member of the community; both young and old share the same space, playing, talking and smiling, and helping one another. In daily life the social relations of a neighborhood are different from the ones during Jizo-bon: neighbors do not share time and space very often, and in addition, the children do not play in the streets of the neighborhood. Thus, the space and time shared in front of Jizo represents symbolically the image and value of "community." By performing Jizo-bon, the image and essence of "community" are enacted and communicated among the neighbors, and contribute to a sense of communal solidarity as well. The representation of the children playing in a neighborhood is indispensable for the creation of an "ideal" community, because having children in a community indicates good prospects for the future of the community. Moreover, children's playing in a neighborhood carries feelings of a warm atmosphere, neighborliness, friendliness, and the solidarity of the community. In this sense, we can say that children fulfill their role in Jizo-bon by "displaying" their play in a communal space.

Second, the perspective of the children who participate in Jizo-bon is essential in understanding the meanings of Jizo-bon. Although neighbors do not gather around Jizo all the time during the Jizo-bon as they did in the past, Jizo-bon still provides children with arenas not only for creating new social relations and learning traditions, but also for expressing themselves in a shared space in a neighborhood. Throughout Jizo-bon, in the special communal space in front of Jizo, children play with the other neighborhood children and interact with the adults of the neighborhood. As illustrated in the second part, these children have few social relations with neighborhood community in their daily lives. Usually children are busy with after school classes, or even if they do not have structured activities, elementary school children tend to play with friends from school in their homes or on playgrounds. They do not play with the neighbor children in the streets, so the neighbors do not interact with the children in daily life. In short, the role of neighborhood in children's socialization has decreased. During the Jizo-bon, however, children have a chance to learn about relationships with adults in the neighborhood. Unlike school, Jizo-bon is not compulsory: children can choose what activity they want to participate in, and when they want to be in the shared space. The adults in the neighborhood do not set out to teach the children; instead they try to make the children happy; and they help any child who needs help. These factors make the relationships different from the ones children experience with their teachers at school. Further, children's relationships among themselves are different. Because of the space, they can stay as long as they want for the two days; children of different ages in a community become closer to one another; and children play with neighbor children instead of classmates.

Moreover, Jizo-bon functions to offer cultural experiences for children as well as a chance for them to express themselves in games and at play. They have an opportunity to become familiar with Jizo folk culture. They have probably heard the folktale "Kasa-Jizo" recited at home or nursery school. Everyone probably knows the story, yet beyond the story, they do not know much about Jizo. By participating in Jizo-bon, they become familiar with the culture related to Jizo. In addition, because a Buddhist priest is invited and recites Buddhist prayers, children are exposed to Buddhist ritual; many of the children may not have had this experience if they have not attended a funeral. Children have the chance not only to learn traditions related to folk religion, but they are also exposed to the culture inherited from the past such as puppet plays and drawing on lanterns. Finally and most importantly, Jizo-bon provides a space and opportunity in which children can express themselves in play and in games, and new types of play are created when they interact with other children from the neighborhood.

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END NOTES

[1] The meaning of Jizo has changed over time. Jizo originated in India and originally he was an earth god. However, the belief in Jizo was not widespread in India. In the fifth century, the belief in Jizo spread to China. It became popular as the concept of hell and heaven grew since it was believed that Jizo could save one from the tortures of hell. The exact time that Jizo belief was introduced to Japan is unknown but the first reliable source dates back to the mid-eighth century.

[2] Wakamori argues that in Japan's Middle Ages Buddhist priests used this type of legend, that is, stories about Jizo taking the form of a child, in order to increase the numbers of Jizo believers (1983, 57).

[3] For detailed texts in English, see Hadland (1992, 107-8), and LaFleur (1992, 63-64).

[4] For other legends of Jizo, see Dorson (1962, 37, 41-44).

[5] Further statistical information of Kyoto City, see Kokusei chosa (2006).

[6] According to research on Jizo in the southern part of Kyoto City, people often said that they also found Jizo statues either in fields or in the rivers. Because the Meiji government introduced the policy of separating Buddhism and Shinto, people in Kyoto buried the statues of Jizo in the fields or threw them into the river to hide them (Fushimino machizukurio kangaeru kenkyukai 1987, 146).

[7] Interview conducted on October 4, 2006.

[8] In Kyoto, the adults plan and organize the Jizo-bon. In contrast, there are other parts of Japan where the children's organizations plan and organize it (Ito 1992, 271).

[9] In some neighborhoods, the donation amount from each household is decided by the neighborhood association and is an obligation.

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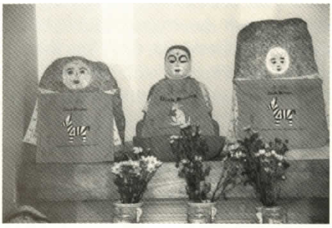

Figure 1

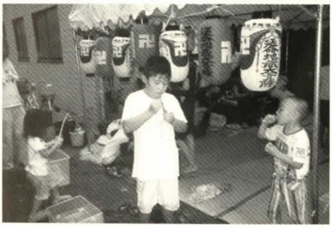

Figure 2

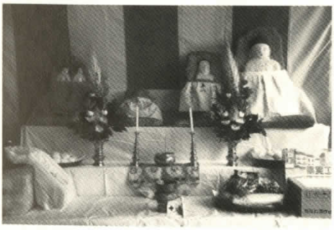

Figure 3

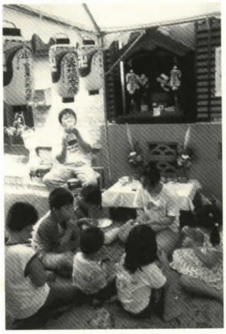

Figure 4

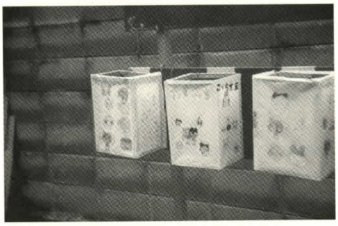

Figure 5

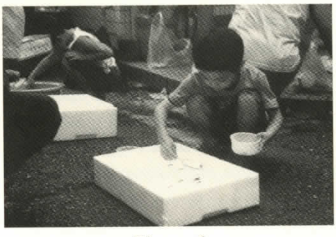

Figure 6

“PLAYSCAPES: CHILDREN’S SPACES AND MOBILITY IN JERUSALEM NEIGHBORHOODS” [1]

DANA HERCBERGS

This paper lays the groundwork for understanding the spatial configurations of Arab and Jewish children’s folklore in Jerusalem. The goal is to discover how children’s folklore interacts with physical and mental divisions in the city from the end of the British Mandate in 1947 until the first decade of the 21st century—roughly six decades corresponding to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Through archival and ethnographic research with contemporary children and adults, I aim to show how neighborhood planning, housing styles and municipal boundaries have affected children’s sense of belonging in a divided city.

According to Roman and Wingrod’s *Living Together Separately* (1991), scholarship on Jerusalem since 1967 has generally tended to examine its Arab and Jewish inhabitants separately at the expense of a more comprehensive perspective of situated, daily interaction. While recent scholarship (Tamari 2004, Kark and Glass 2004, Stein and Swedenburg 2005) is re-examining the variety of social and economic relations among Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities, as well as the fluidity of their identities in Jerusalem, these works are grounded in the pre-Israel era, namely the late Ottoman period and early British Mandate. My aim is to contextualize children’s lives *within* the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through a study of pastimes and play spaces in Jerusalem in the decades that span the conflict. The period of study, from the 1940s until the first decade of the 21st century, is selected for covering key turning points in Jewish-Arab relations in the city. I draw on ethnographic fieldwork with living residents of Jerusalem, as well as ethnographies and memoirs from earlier decades that offer valuable data.

The framework I use for thinking about the changing lives of children in these communities foregrounds the discursive social and physical terrain. By focusing on a number of Jewish and Arab neighborhoods, I demonstrate not only how Arab-Jewish relations have changed over time as expressed in physical space, but also what places children occupy ideologically vis-à-vis these relations. In a setting where space is highly political, I am interested in the extent of children’s involvement in the conflict as expressed in their spatial practices, folklore, and mental maps of the city. These practices and constructs extend to the adoption of play spaces and the recognition of border zones and forbidden areas. Finally, as this study includes residents of different ages, I explore the nature of interactions across the generations.

Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem

This research draws on recent trends in Middle East studies and human geography. In Middle East Studies, Stein and Swedenburg (2005) argue that the impetus to take culture seriously in Israel and Palestine lies in the realization that culture does not easily correspond to nationality, and in many instances cuts across religious distinctions. Demonstrating this point with respect to Jerusalem, Tamari (2004) and Kark and Glass (2004) explore alternatives to the rigid and opposed national identities of “Jew” and “Arab”—affiliations that have been imprecisely projected to interpretations of their past relations. They set out to expose the flexibility of identities in Jerusalem—stemming from shared residential spaces, customs and language—in the late Ottoman and British Mandate periods. The contribution of the present research is to examine the previously neglected perspective of children in order to advance our knowledge of how local identity and communal interaction have been transformed during the last sixty years.

The reason for focusing on children is twofold: one advantage in consulting children's folklore is its incorporation of societal values and attitudes (Goldstein 2004, Goodman 1970:133, Lanclos 2003: 3). A case in point is Diane Goldstein's discussion of children's rhymes that express adult paranoia about the AIDS virus (2004:5). Because children are subject to socialization through interlocking institutions such as the family, schooling, religion and youth groups, approaching societal attitudes through childlore provides a measuring stick for adult informants' self-censorship when asked to reflect about the sensitive topic of Arab-Jewish relations. In other words, folklore traditions collected from adults' recollections as well as through observation of children may reveal attitudes and feelings about the conflict that informants might evade in response to direct questions. Additionally, childlore traditions can corroborate or refute the assumption that children are malleable to challenging the norms and stereotypes held by their elders, a hope which drives reconciliation programs aimed at children and adolescents in Israel, Palestine and elsewhere. Furthermore, the correlation between the places and contexts of children's interactions, and their identities vis-à-vis Arab-Jewish relations, should be of interest to such projects. Sibley's (1995) work on children's mobility, belonging and exclusion from spaces in the West is a starting point for conceptualizing how children's daily lives in Jerusalem are affected by the conflict. I propose to examine the ways children negotiate and understand the spatial aspect of their lives by incorporating observations of their activities, mobility, and interpretations of the city in both East and West Jerusalem. I draw on the methods of Hörschelman and Schäfer (2005), whose work on East German adolescents' use of city spaces combines photographs taken by the teens of their favorite places, drawings of their daily routes as well as focused interviews.

Whether young people are implicitly understood as 'persons out of place' (Nieuwenhuys 2003: 101) or celebrated as beings in their own right rather than future adults (Holloway and Valentine 2000: 5), identifying the places associated with, and used by children, enables us to address a variety of spatial practices in East and West Jerusalem ranging from Palestinian Arab adolescent boys who dot the less-traveled motorways around the Old City at dusk, to Middle Eastern Jewish teenagers who appropriate a central pedestrian shopping strip on weekend nights after locals and tourists have left. In light of the fact that Jerusalem has been occupied and governed by at least three administrations in the last century, visited and settled by groups from every continent, and penetrated by foreign markets, the ways that larger-than-local cultures enter the lives of children in a locally segregated terrain should be examined for the alternatives they offer and the combinations they contribute to local cultures and identities.

Communal Relations in Jerusalem

On account of the close relationship between locality and national, ethnic and religious identity in Jerusalem, I examine the physical and social borders into which children are initiated and ways they reproduce and challenge them during five well-defined periods of Arab-Jewish relations in the city (see figure 1): the end of the British Mandate (1940s), the division of Jerusalem between Israel and Jordan (1948-1967), the "reunification" of Jerusalem (1967-1988), the first *intifada* (1988) and the second *intifada* (2000).

The period preceding Israel's statehood (1948) is recalled by contemporary residents whose childhood spanned the 1940s when Jerusalem was the capital of the British administration in Palestine from 1920-1947. This era represents a transition from greater integration among Jews, Muslims and Christians to increased tensions and polarization of the communities according to national affiliation. From 1948 to 1967, a physical border divided Jerusalem into the western Jewish side in Israel and the eastern Arab side under Jordanian rule. Following the 1967 war, the city was "reunited" under Israeli control but continued to be marked by demographic, national and social divisions. Finally, each of the Palestinian *intifadas* raised mental and social barriers, limiting mobility and intercourse between Jews and Arabs. The intervening period witnessed the advent of the Oslo Accords and expectations for a lasting peace. Not long after, the second *intifada* reversed many of these expectations and provided impetus for the Israeli government to build the current separation wall in Jerusalem that cuts off adjoining Arab neighborhoods, linking some to the West Bank and others to Jewish Jerusalem proper only. All while Jewish settlements penetrate East Jerusalem. Each period, significant for the historical comparison of Arab-Jewish relations, is marked by a new layer of consciousness about the conflict as demographic and spatial arrangements force re-evaluations of the present and past.

If we then consider the overall structure for negotiating children's spaces Jerusalem, we can identify two major matrices of orientation: 1) the eastern and western sides of the city and 2) the neighborhoods therein. In West Jerusalem, prominent differences exist between religious and secular neighborhoods and between older, denser neighborhoods and more contemporary and open schemes. In East Jerusalem, some Arab neighborhoods historically part of Jerusalem's municipality, are now cut off by the separation wall, thus sharply limiting or ending residents' access to municipal services, families and property on the other side. Jewish enclaves within Arab East Jerusalem also create tensions and force pedestrians and drivers to be vigilant about the routes they take. These aspects are key to understanding where children spend their time and interact with others.

Children's Folklore

One avenue for exploring children's role in perpetuating or challenging these boundaries over time is to employ a modified version of the historic-geographic method to uncover evidence of the transmission of children's folklore from one community of players to another, both geographically and by generation. In Jerusalem, specific folklore variations developed that reflect children's heritage in the ethnically distinct neighborhoods where they grew up. Common children's games that emerged from fieldwork with participants in the "Traditional Creativity in the Schools" project include five stones (similar to jacks in the United States), hop-scotch, marbles, gogoim/ adjukim, tic-tac (a version of base-ball) and jump rope. A macro example of an oicotype, or local variation (Von Sydow 1948; reprint 1965) arising from the proximity of Jewish and Arab-Muslim traditions in Jerusalem is a game where players line up behind a row of apricot pits to flick stones at them (figures 2 and 3). Called "gogoim" throughout Israel, it is known to Jews in Jerusalem by the local Arabic derivative "adjukim" or "adjuim." The local (Hebrew) name may be best described as a borrowed word from Arabic. At the same time, Sephardic Jews spoke Arabic to a greater extent before 1948. This is significant because, after 1948, when Jewish ties to the Arab Muslim community of Jerusalem were no longer viable, the Arabic language became marginalized among Sephardim in favor of the more privileged Ladino (Judeo-Spanish). As Kark and Glass (2004) reveal in their study about the prominence of

Sephardic community members as cultural mediators between Arabs and Jews, these Sephardim distanced themselves from the Arabic heritage in response to national discourse that drew a sharp distinction between Jews and Arabs.

What requires further investigation is whether Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem play Adjukim the same way, and whether they designate the game by this name. In other words, do Jerusalemite Jews and Arabs share the same children's folklore tradition from before 1948? If so, what is the role of the generations in perpetuating or obfuscating this tradition? And how does the built environment figure in these relations? While some games, like those mentioned above, are widely distributed, other folklore genres circulate in limited contexts, thus rendering them unlikely to cross ethnic or religious boundaries. Among these are legends, rumors, jokes and taunts. Observing children in playgrounds and peer groups will likely yield some of these genres. In collecting children's folklore, then, I am interested in as wide a variety of genres as possible in order to learn which of them are widely distributed and which are specific to particular ethnic, religious and gender-based groups.

Jerusalem Neighborhoods

Beginning in the mid-19th century and continuing until World War I, Jews and Arabs developed separate residences beyond the walls of the Old City. Owing to increased security and Ottoman legislation that permitted foreigners to build religious and residential compounds outside of the Old City, pioneering groups of Jews, wealthy Arab families and others left behind overcrowding, high rent costs and sanitary problems for new neighborhoods (Kark 17-19). By the eve of the British Mandate, two kinds of neighborhoods were prevalent: 1) Jewish and 2) Palestinian Arab, Greek, and Armenian. At the same time, a de-sectarian trend resulted in the formation of some mixed middle-class residences between the Old City and just to the west and southwest (Davis 1999: 38), with exceptions elsewhere. Just as important as the ethnic and linguistic mix to a study of folklore in these neighborhoods is their physical structure. For instance, many of the Jewish neighborhoods built before World War I developed a sense of uniqueness and local color in tandem with their design: these originally community-oriented neighborhoods shared a common structural feature—an internal courtyard surrounded by residential buildings (figure 4). This courtyard was public domain and contained all communal facilities, such as cisterns, public ovens and synagogues that brought neighborhood residents together during errands, chores, study and recreation (Kark 1991: 65, Yehoshua 1978: 29). On the other hand, surrounding walls separated these neighborhoods from each other, with access provided by a gate that stayed closed at night. I suspect that these architectural features, along with the communal responsibilities and regulations upheld by by-laws in each neighborhood, helped create a sense of local identity among the inhabitants. The implication for folklore is that oicotypes could be specific to these neighborhoods, several of which contained their own educational institutions for children.

Folklore in a Mixed Neighborhood

One group of sources that pays homage to the old neighborhoods and confirms their importance for children's local identity is Yaakov Yehoshua's series of books under the title Childhood in Old Jerusalem: Chapters from Days Past. In his fourth work, *Jerusalem Neighborhoods Tell Stories* (1978), Yehoshua presents a part-memoir/part-ethnographic account about growing up in the new city of Jerusalem in the 1930s. He sketches interactions between Ashkenazi (specifically Russian) and Sephardic Jews in the neighborhood of Mishkenot Yisrael (est. 1875-6). Yehoshua remarks on the cultural differences between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, noting how physical proximity led to some lasting relationships between the two ethnic groups during the days of the British Mandate. He conveys the importance of the shared courtyard as a space for gatherings and celebrations: "In the evening hours the water cisterns served also as meeting places for the neighborhood children; beside them were spread the *khupot* of our Ashkenazi brethren" (31). The courtyards also served young people's social gatherings, particularly on spring and summer evenings, for playing and listening to songs on the mandolin (20). Such mixing took place despite objections from the author's grandmother to socialize with the Russians, who were deemed too secular for the religiously observant Sephardis. In fact, Yehoshua notes that a number of Sephardic Jewish boys later married Russian Jewish girls, attesting to the potential for the public spaces such as the courtyard and synagogue, designed with a cooperative model in mind, to shape relations, as attested to by those evening sing-alongs. Another tribute to these relations is the Russian songs that Yehoshua's sister learned from a childhood friend. Yehoshua testifies that even in her old age she continued singing about horse-drawn carriages and the frozen Volga River (21). These examples are significant because of their potentially transgressive character; despite adults' prejudices, children's physical proximity can lead to lasting relationships—and the transmission of folklore.

These illustrations also show that environmental features such as the ones mentioned above do not necessarily correspond to communal isolation. They prompt us, rather, to explore the relationship between the cultural and physical environment by paying attention to "how culture influences environmental perceptions" through rhetorical strategies of localization (Tuan 1974 cited in Jones 1976: 109-10). The more readily localized verbal folklore genres such as legends and superstitions dealing with human-environment relations are examples of such rhetorical strategies (ibid), as are "spatial routines" (Hörschelmann and Schäfer 2005). For instance, Mira Eilam, a Jewish Jerusalemite whose childhood spanned the 1950s and early 1960s, recalls a "complete identification" between neighborhood, school and *Tsofim* (scouts) in her neighborhood of Rehavia (founded 1922). An affluent garden suburb in the western side of the city, relative openness and gardens mark this area as opposed to the gated schemes of the earlier neighborhoods mentioned above, yet local identification was still fostered by the Tsofim by employing "tribe" names for each local, neighborhood section. Comparable to the Scouts in the United States, the Tsofim integrate male and female youngsters in a nationalistic youth movement. For Eilam, it was the "most important thing in life…as children." She maintains that by contrast to the time of her own participation in this youth group, young people attending the Tsofim in Jerusalem today come from separate neighborhoods (Eilam 2006), inevitably shifting the boundaries of what might once have resulted in local distinction. Whether childlore traditions in these periods transcend the physical boundaries of neighborhoods today awaits further research.

Mobility and Local Identification

In studying urban life, human geographers are increasingly concerned with mobility, flows and connectivity as implicit aspects of cities (Amin and Thrift 2002: 20, Appadurai 1996). A focus on these characteristics challenges conceptions of children's lives as bounded and local (Ansell 2006) and has propelled studies on the variety and frequency of urban space uses. For

instance, Hörschelmann and Schäfer's study of teenage girls' "spatial routines" in East Germany suggests that those traveling further from their homes in the suburbs into the city center are likely to make greater use of the resources of the city to realize their dreams than girls who avoid the city center and stay closer to home (2005: 234). To highlight the ways that Arab and Jewish children navigate the geography of their city in light of the conflict, we can compare opportunities for travel across the lines of ethnicity, religion and gender, as well as the types of zones children frequent and forbidden zones. For example, asked whether there were places she was forbidden to go to in her childhood, Eilam maintains that there were none: "Those were very safe days…there was no fear from a safety point of view. There was almost no violence—there was no need to be careful in the road because how often would you see a car…"
However, asked about the presence of the wall that divided East and West Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967, Eilam recalls that it was visible from many parts of the city and that "until 1967, we lived with the sense that there was something mysterious behind the wall. We wouldn't come near it at all" (Eilam 2006; see figure 5). Because Rehavia is more distant from East Jerusalem than most other neighborhoods on the western side, it probably did not occur to youngsters to venture there; hence the experience of "complete safety." When East Jerusalem was brought under Israeli control, Eilam and her friends would visit the Old City every Sabbath; she acknowledges that while this event completely changed life in the city, getting acquainted with the "other side" was a gradual process that continued with her son's generation.

Extending the notion of mobility to the city's communities, the sense of people's identification with their neighborhoods is all the more remarkable given the city's demographic instability over the last century. Eilam's narrative underscores the stabilizing impact of social groups—especially organized youth movements—given her family's experience of dislocation with every generation that lived in Jerusalem. While her mother grew up speaking Arabic with the neighborhood children in the Russian Compound, Eilam grew up after 1948 in an "abandoned" Arab home in what became an entirely Jewish neighborhood (Rehavia), not knowing any Palestinian Arabs. Significant in the lives of youth of her generation was the Tsofim movement, which played an important role in the socialization of young people into the ideology of Zionism. Representing the generation that grew up witnessing the signing of the peace accords between then Israel and the Palestinians, Eilam's son took part in Seeds of Peace the year it formed, and she quotes him saying that it was the first experience that put a face on the enemy. In a sense, each generation in Eilam's family encapsulates the fragility of sustainable social relations between Jews and Arabs.

Power and Cultural Production

According to Davis (1999: 38), Jewish and Arab relations were not the only ones that suffered the divisive consequences of nationalist conflict. For instance, while Arab Christians and Muslims lived together in the same neighborhoods outside of the Old City, sectarian divisions still appeared, ex. Talbiya was almost an entirely Christian neighborhood (ibid). Avoiding the assertion of a pre-Israel golden age, then, we must examine how power pervades relations now and in the past, and the way that cultural expressions make light of its distribution. For instance, early 20th century legends of the "courtesan Jew" variety point to the corporeal nature of the Jewish community in Jerusalem vis-à-vis powerful rulers; while more widely-distributed expressions like "rubbing [someone's] hands" relate to the services that weaker persons were expected to render the more powerful individuals in the socio-political hierarchy

(Yehoshua 1966: 235). Attention to these elements enables us to situate Jewish-Arab relations in a wider context. Bilu and Levy's (1996) research shows that Jews who previously inhabited Muslim countries feel an ambivalent mixture of animosity toward their Muslim neighbors and nostalgia for their former lives. The question for us is which actors emphasize particular aspects of the past, who employs nostalgia strategically, and toward what ends.

Conclusion

In this brief paper, I have argued that accounting for the spatial aspects of children's lives is valuable for understanding the social relations among Jerusalem's communities. A multi-neighborhood, cross-generational study of children's folklore offers to render the shifting identities of children as members of a neighborhood, linguistic or national group as well as who is seen as other to their identities throughout the period of study. Proximity and distance emerge as part and parcel of this issue. In studying how children make sense of their city and the people they encounter, we should pay attention not only to their situated behavior in particular places, but also to their mobility and the experiences of transit; and in going from one place to another, noting what sites they encounter and what sites remain hidden, and whose interests are served by these choices. While these questions wait to be answered in further fieldwork, I hypothesize that children's folklore, and their mobility in the city, demonstrated greater communal interaction in the earlier decades this study addresses, and comes to reflect increasing national politicization of space in the city in later decades.

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END NOTES

[1] This is an explanded version of a paper presented at the American Folklore Society annual meeting in Milwaukee 2006, and presents aspects of my dissertation. Fieldwork is scheduled to begin in early 2007.

[2] Directed by folklorist Simon Lichman, the project brings together elementary school-aged children from Jewish and Arab schools. Together with their families, paired school groups meet several times a year to learn about one another's heritage. In 2005 I interviewed participating parents and grandparents about games from their own childhood. I would like to thank Dr. Simon Lichman, who directs the program, for guiding my fieldwork and permitting me to use this material.

[3] Sephardim are Jews associated with the Iberian Peninsula, whence they were expelled in the 15th century, settling in many parts of the Ottoman Empire.

[4] I would like to thank Prof. Galit Hasan-Rokem for this insight

[5] The following discussion, which focuses on Jewish neighborhoods, stems in part from research I conducted in 2005 (footnote 2). While the testimonies and sources discussed here refer mainly to Jewish residents' experiences in the 1940's, they have generated my interest in comparative research spanning the generations.

[6] Ashkenazi Jewish traditions and languages stem from northern and eastern Europe.

[7] Sing. *Khupa*: canopy covering the bride and groom in a Jewish wedding.

[8] See Katriel's chapter on Israeli youth movement ceremonials in *Communal Webs*, pp. 51-70.

[9] A group that brings together young people together in areas of conflict.

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Figures 5 is awaiting permission.

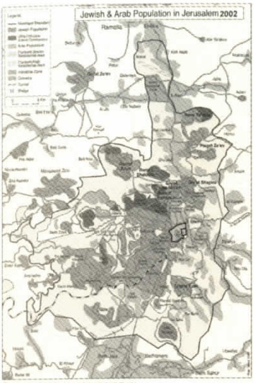

Figure 1. "Jewish and Arab Population in Jerusalem 2002." Courtesy of Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

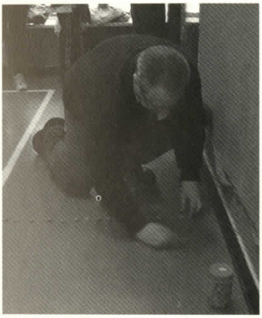

Figure 2. The game of "Gogoim/Adjukim": Setting up apricot pits in a row on the Ground. Courtesy of The Centre for Creativity in Education and Cultural Heritage, Israel. Traditional Play Archives: Ein Rafa-Nequba/ Nisui Jerusalem Programme

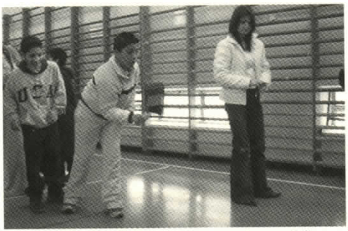

Figure 3. Player prepares to throw his apricot pit at a row of other apricot pits. Others look on. Courtesy of The Centre for Creativity in Education and Cultural Heritage, Israel. Traditional Play Archives: Ein Rafa-Nequba/ Nisui Jerusalem Programme

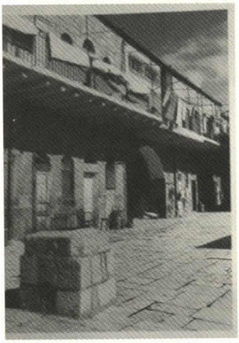

Figure 4. "Row-housing surrounding an inner courtyard with a central cistern. Batei Rand." *To Live in Jerusalem* by R. Gonen and D. Kroyanker (1993:30). Courtesy David Kroyanker, Jerusalem.

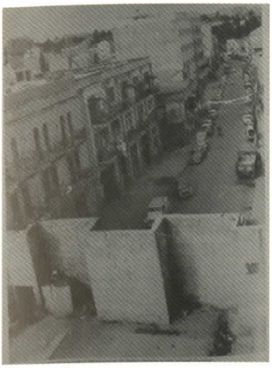

Figure 5.

SEUSS ON THE LOOSE: CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE ON THE INTERNET

C.W. SULLIVAN III

From William Wells Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children* (1884) on, folklorists have been collecting humorous verse from children and adolescents, and of that verse, parody is a major category. Iona and Peter Opie, in *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (1959), Herbert and Mary Knapp, in *One Potato, Two Potato* (1976), and Simon Bronner, in *American Children's Folklore* (1988), to name but the most prominent collectors, have major sections dealing with children's and adolescents' parodies of everything from nursery rhymes to political and religious songs. Numerous recent critics, including Jan Brunvand, in *The Study of American Folklore* (1968), Jay Mechling, "Children's Folklore," in Elliott Oring, *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres* (1986), and my own "Songs, Poems, and Rhymes," in Brian Sutton-Smith, et al, *Children's Folklore: A Source Book* (1995), have commented on various aspects of children's and adolescents' parodies.

The definition of parody that I will use here argues that one creates a parody by taking something—song, rhyme, advertising jingle—and changing it to make it humorous or more humorous and that the humor derives, at least in part, from the listener's knowledge of the original as juxtaposed with or to the parody. Thus, it is important to know "Mary had a little lamb / It's fleece was white as snow / And everywhere that Mary went / The lamb was sure to go / It followed her to school one day / Which was against the rule / It made the children laugh and play / To see a lamb at school" to fully understand and appreciate the humor of "Mary had a little lamb / Her father shot it dead / Now Mary takes her lamb to school / Between two hunks of bread" or to understand the somewhat older humor of "Mary had a little lamb / She also had a bear / I've often seen her little lamb / But I've never seen her bear" (a pun on homonymic "b-e-a-r" and "b-a-r-e") or "Mary had a little lamb / And boy was the doctor surprised" (a play on the word "had" as in "gave birth to").

The first section of this paper will survey and discuss the parodies of Dr. Seuss' rhymes themselves. In topic, for example, they range from political and social (Clinton/Lewinsky, the O.J. Simpson trial, the 2000 presidential election), to literary (the Bible), to popular media (*Star Trek: The Next Generation*), to computers themselves ("Spam-I-Am"), and what I am calling "folkloric" (Seuss book title parodies—*Aunts in My Pants* and *The Cat in the Blender* might be of particular interest to folklorists). Most of these are (or were) clearly created by adolescents, but many of them, I believe, would be understood by most children.

The second section of this paper will discuss the implications of the presence of the Dr. Seuss parodies on the internet. The existence of the internet and the access that children and adolescents have to it (and their ability to use that access) has created a context in which a great deal of children's and adolescents' folklore is circulated. The Dr. Seuss parodies are but one example. An interesting aspect of this context is that the oral transmission of these parodies has become almost material, and it may be that we can now study this new transmission mode in ways different from the ways in which we have always studied the transmission of strictly oral folklore.

The Seuss Parodies

The following are excerpts from examples in what I feel are the major categories of Seuss parodies. The political and social parodies comment on current events. "STARR I ARE—a newly discovered tale of Dr. Seuss," is about Ken Starr, Bill Clinton, and Monica Lewinsky. It begins, "I'm here to ask / As you'll soon see-- / Did you grope / Miss Lewinsky" and continues for eight more stanzas. "The O.J. Simpson Trial" begins "I did not kill my lovely wife. / I did not stab her with a knife. / I did not bonk her on the head. / I did not know that she was dead" and continues on for eight or nine more stanzas of varying length. The comedy group, The Capitol Steps, presented a parody entitled "How the Gingrich Stole Congress," which begins "Every Who / Down in Whoville / Liked elections a lot. / But Newt Gingrich, / Who lived on Mount Gridlock, / did not" and ends, after two pages, urging the Whos to vote against Gingrich in 1996. In addition, in my collection, there is a variation the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, a parody poking fun at the 2000 election vote, and one entitled "The Middle Eastern Grinch," about Osama bin Laden and the attack on the World Trade Center. All of these parodies are based on *Green Eggs and Ham*, with its very recognizable rhythm and rhyme, or on *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*, with its rhythm, rhyme, and well-known story.

The next category is Seuss parodies of popular culture items, and especially popular media, television and movies. "If Dr. Seuss wrote for *Star Trek: The Next Generation*", it might have looked like:

Picard: Sigma Indri, that's the star,
So, Data, please, how far? How far?
Data: Our ship can get there very fast
But still the trip will last and last
We'll have two days til we arrive
But can the Indrans there survive?

This parody is two pages long and contains a commercial break: "Commercial break, commercial break / How long will these dumb ads take?" "Dr. Seuss meets *Pulp Fiction*," a short parody of 14 lines, begins "I would not eat Royale with Cheese / So do not even ask me, please." "If Dr. Seuss had written for Babylon 5 . . ." begins, "We live here on Bab'lon 5 / to keep our last great hope alive. / So far, it seems, since Season One, / The war of Shadows has begun" and continues for three single-spaced pages. And "If Dr. Seuss had written for ER" is also three pages long and begins,

Kerry: Now Mark, I think this ER's great,
But . . . there are problems that can't wait!
Now Benton's fine, and Carter too,
But Ross and Susan just won't do!
Now who do you think that we should hire
Since both of them today I'll fire.

It is interesting that all of the media or popular culture parodies I have seen thus far rely on the rhythmic pattern of *Green Eggs and Ham*.

Various aspects of contemporary computerized technology have inspired Seuss parodies. One of the more popular, "If Dr. Seuss wrote tech books, here's what he'd say" begins "If a packet hits a pocket on a socket on a port, and the bus is interrupted as a very last resort, and the address of the memory makes your floppy disk abort, then the socket packet pocket has an error to report" and goes on for three more paragraphs. That one is also embedded in the somewhat longer "A Grandchild's Guide to Using Grandpa's Computer." In "How the Grinch Stole our vision of perfect objects," the Grinch strikes out a line in a math microcode bugging a whole run of microchips; the story's lesson is "Beyond 'Merry Christmas,' they'd learned something greater: / 'If you don't test it now, you'll just debug it later.'" "E-Mail Spam," another "Green Eggs and Ham" parody, asserts "I do not like it, / Spam-I-am. / I do not like / Your E-mail Spam" and goes on for four pages listing the kinds of spam that might appear. And a three-page parody entitled "Dr. Seuss on Y2K" opens "Coming soon! / It's Y2K! / Y2K to make your day!" and lists all the warnings of disaster before concluding "Tomorrow's another working day."

The folklore parody category contains items that folklorists would recognize as variations on non-Seuss materials. For example, "The Rat in the Vat," a "The Cat in the Hat" parody, tells the story of three bored men who are led to a brewery by a "stylish cat"; there they see a dead rat in a vat of beer, a vat from which they have, in fact, drunk. This is, of course, a variation on several contaminated food urban legends. There is also "The Dr. Seuss Purity Test" the first two stanzas of which begin, in "Green Eggs and Ham" fashion, "Have you done it on a boat? / Have you done it with a goat? / Have you done it in a bed? / Have you done it with the dead?", goes on for another 25 stanzas, and is comparable to a variety of other "purity tests," some of which use paper "fortune tellers," popular among middle schoolers. And a list of nearly 20 "Rejected Dr. Seuss Books" includes *One Bitch, Two Bitch, Dead Bitch, You Bitch*; *Horton Hires a Ho*; *The Cat in the Blender*; *Aunts in My Pants*; and *The Grinch's Ten Inches*, all of which could join such well-known humorous titles as *The Yellow River* by I. P. Daily and *Spots on the Wall* by Who Flung Dung.

Oral Folklore on the Internet

When I most recently googled "Seuss Parodies," on 16 October 2006, I was greeted with the information that there were 282,000 hits. I did not open them all. I would say that the first 20-25 are the most on target for anyone who wants to investigate Seuss parodies and that of those a good many are inter-referential, that is, they refer to each other, so that any one of the parodies to which I referred above might be listed in any or even all of the sites. In fact, a number of sites refer the reader back to the first listed site, "Seuss Parodies."

"Seuss Parodies" contained all of the material from which I have quoted in this article. At the top of the page, David Bedno (drseuss@seuss.org), who maintains the site, announces that the "page contains items that are either parodies of Dr. Seuss [sic] books, parodies of Dr. Seuss [sic] style, or just plain have a lot to do with Dr. Seuss. I try to give credit where possible, but authorship for some pieces is, well, elusive." Unfortunately, at the bottom of the page, the reader is informed that the site has not been updated since 23 November 2000. A search through other Seuss sites reveals more contemporary topics—the current war in Iraq, a book cover for "One Fish, Two Fish, Red State, Blue State," and a collection of Seuss-inspired cartoons by Mark Parisi.

There is also a heading entitled "Dr. Seuss on the Web" (www.k-state.edu/english/nelp/seuss/index.html); this is an index compiled by Philip Nel, at Kansas State

University, and last updated on 17 June 2006. Nel provides material under the following headings: Official Seuss Sites (there are currently 10), Fan Sites (3), Books (4), General Reference (10), Essays and Articles (11), For Teachers (8), News Groups / Listserves (3) Seuss-related (12), Parodies (15—including Bedno's "Seuss Parodies " site), and For sale (5—including Amazon.com for books).

What can we, as folklorists, make of all this material? Are these Seuss parodies on the internet to be treated as we would treat variants published in folklore articles and books or housed in university and museum collections? Does internet transmission of folk materials heretofore transmitted orally affect them in any significant way? The question of authorship is certainly a case in point. I have asserted that these parodies are a part of children's and/or adolescents' folklore, but I cannot prove that. In fact, parodies of an adult television program, *ER* for example, or an adult movie, *Pulp Fiction*, suggest adult origins for these parodies; but such documentation is not only lacking, it is hard to come by.

David Bedno says on his website, "authorship for some pieces is, at best, elusive" (above). I would argue that authorship for many if not most pieces is elusive. Certainly authorship of The Capitol Steps' "How the Gingrich Stole Congress" is verifiable, but many of the other "authors" could merely be the people who submitted the version that they heard to a website such as Bedno's, even if those versions have been copyrighted by the author/submitter. Thus, without actually tracing each one internet item down, talking with the author, and/or finding earlier variants that the author does not acknowledge, the question of authorship remains.

Final Comment

In "Folk Objects," in Oring's *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres*, Simon Bronner argues: "Words may change radically from one tale version to the next, and the other versions are irretrievable. To change an object, the maker must create a new object or significantly alter an existing one. The older versions remain for us to see and conceptualize as some kind of series; e.g., the versions can be arranged by when or where they were made" (200). On the internet, however, it may be that other versions are retrievable and, therefore, available for study to determine the way the material has changed through a series of verifiably dated variants. And that is only one possibility.

On a more complex level, we all know that the internet is changing the way or ways in which we communicate. Since the field of folklore defined itself over 100 years ago, we have been dealing with traditional materials transmitted in informal ways. Children and adolescents do not get their folklore from Brunvand's *The Study of American Folklore* or from a university archive—or other such texts and places. Heretofore, we children's folklorists have dealt with the materials that we believed children and adolescents passed on orally or by customary example within their high-context group. But children have ready access to the internet in ways that they do not have access to textbooks and folklore collections, and there is no reason not to believe that a young person could google Dr. Seuss, find the parodies, and orally transmit them, perhaps as his or her own creations, to other members of the group.

There is cause for further study…

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For the complete versions of all parodies cited here and other parodies, see: www.seuss.org/seuss/seuss.parodies.html

HERBERT HALPERT: CHILDLORE SCHOLAR

CAROLE CARPENTER

When Herbert Halpert died in 2000, he was recognized worldwide as an expert on folktales and a master of comparative notes. Yet, it was childlore through which his formal career in Folklore Studies began. Dr. Halpert is not widely known as a scholar of childlore, though his limited publications in the area are valued. Further, it is significant that as a result of his pioneering work on children's lore in New York City he *might* have become central not only to future work on children's folklore, but also folklore and popular culture, and folklore and revivalism. However, as Michael Taft noted in a recent presentation (at the Folklore Studies Association of Canada, May 2006) on "Herbert Halpert: Pioneer Collector of Urban Folklore," his legacy was not to be "as one of the first of the young Turks, but as one of the last of the old guard."

This paper seeks to establish Herbert Halpert as an intellectual descendant of William Wells Newell, colleague of Dorothy Howard and Brian Sutton-Smith, and an academic "father" of many contemporary childlore scholars including Julia Bishop, Simon Bronner, Margaret Bennett Knight, Jay Mechling, John Widdowson and myself among others. It explores the nature and value of his early work on childlore and why it was not published, and utilizes the considerable material on childlore in his personal papers to situate him as the intermediary between Newell and contemporary urban lore scholars, noting the important insights he offered in his Masters thesis but failed to pursue at length in subsequent published work. The result is a brief appreciation of the development, dedicated interest and exceptional contributions of a major scholar to an area beyond that for which he is most celebrated.

This discussion is based upon extensive informal conversations with Mrs. (Violetta Maloney) Halpert, extended recorded interviews with Dr. Halpert in 1970 and consultation of Dr. Halpert's private papers at home as well as those in his collections at Memorial (both in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive [MUNFLA] and what was still "in the works" when he died). As a prudent executrix, Mrs. Halpert has carefully retained collectanea, unfinished MSS and supporting documents expressly to enable work underway by others on particular aspects of his wide-ranging interests, among them childlore, an area of particular concern to two of Halpert's academic disciples—John Widdowson and myself.

Certainly Herbert was my chief mentor from 1974 until his death with respect to all matters academic, especially anything involving children's culture. It was his support that engendered in me the drive to persist over many years and despite the usual politics and numerous other academic obstacles in order to create the Children's Studies Program at York University. Sitting one day about two decades ago with Dr. Halpert in the child-related portion of his library, I mused, "Wouldn't it be wonderful if there could be a program that studied children in this [gesturing to the range of works] way?" He turned from what he was reading, focused his intent gaze and pointed his finger at me then said, in his studied, gruffly authoritative manner, "You do that…**you** make that happen!" And, of course, I felt called upon to do so—the interdisciplinary as well as multidisciplinary, childist and rights-based program situated in the Humanities begins in September 2007 with an incoming class of some 200 majors and minors, a tribute to the scholar who cultivated in me his fervent belief in the significance of childlore.

Growing up in New York City, Halpert developed an early interest in folk songs and evolved into a rather fine ballad singer. According to Mrs. Halpert, he would go to settlement houses[1] and, upon hearing songs sung by children, would pick out the tunes on a little ukelele. He also worked as a counselor at a camp in the Catskills during his early college years. There, as at the various settlement houses, he encountered children's lore in abundance. Shortly after his 1934 graduation from New York University (in English), he fortuitously got a job with the Federal Recreation Division of the Works Progress Administration in which, as he explained:

> Working in New York City, I became fascinated by children's play rhymes and songs heard at a settlement house. Mostly in my off-duty time, I made a large collection of them over much of the borough of Manhattan, writing down the texts as I heard them. I had no recording equipment (Halpert, *Emerging Discipline* 4).

This collection he supplemented with material from his family (especially two younger sisters), friends and himself. The whole was transferred to cards, which still exist. At the suggestion of Ruth Benedict, a study of these rhymes, "Folk Rhymes of New York City Children," eventually became his MA thesis in Anthropology (Columbia, 1946). In the meantime, he had added to this initial collection the street cries, chants, songs, and singing games he recorded on disk as a folk song researcher for the WPA in New York City from 1937-39. It was this later field collecting[2] that effectively steered him methodologically toward the folklorist he was to become, since George Herzog, another of Halpert's teachers at Columbia, regularly queried him at length about the fieldwork, asking for information about the singers and their songs. Very little supporting data accompanies the material in the early collection—at most the age, gender, ethno-racial group of the teller and location of collecting, and more often, just the settlement house or other location of collection.[3] In response to his mentor's search to understand the traditions and their performance better, Halpert assumed a more open-ended, contextual approach to both the material and its bearers, thus leading him toward the functional-contextual approach that characterized all his subsequent work. Unbeknownst to most scholars, Halpert's New York City collecting was, therefore, one of the first modern urban lore studies owing to this very approach, which was so different from Newell's. While Halpert certainly valued *Games and Songs of American Children* very highly, he recognized it for what it was—an historical, comparative work largely compiled from the memories of adults and infused with what Carl Withers described as "an elegiac quality of lament" (v). Newell perceived children's games and song as survivals, *gesunkenes kulturgut* and as perishing traditions that "were vanishing so rapidly in 'a general ruin' of popular culture that they would soon be wholly extinct" (Withers v) and, as such, merited documentation and appreciation before they were gone forever. Halpert did not share these decidedly 19th century attitudes about folk traditions and endeavored to collect—primarily from living children—the traditions in operation. Thereby he focused on their meaning and function within the world of children and the evidence thus provided about the significance and transmission of, influences upon, and overall cultural information acquired through studying the lore in action. His orientation points decidedly away from Newell and toward the more recent studies of urban childlore, such as Dargan and Zeitlin's *City Play* (1999). Halpert's work on New York City childlore was unfortunately never published[4] despite his several unsuccessful attempts (into the sixties) to turn it into a book—a circumstance that reveals much about his scholarly life but masks his abiding commitment to the material and its importance.

The basic facts about Herbert Halpert and his contribution to Folklore Studies are well-known, carefully documented in the "Biographical Sketch" by Neil Rosenberg in the festschrift he and Kenneth Goldstein edited, *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert* (1980); the introduction by Martin Lovelace, Paul Smith and J. D. A. Widdowson to their edited volume of Halpert's collected essays, *Folklore: An Emerging Discipline* (2002); and Halpert's own retrospective survey, "Coming Into Folklore More than Fifty Years Ago" reprinted in that collection (3-22).

To recapitulate very briefly, in 1962 Herbert Halpert accepted a position in the English Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland that enabled him to undertake extensive field collecting, establish MUNFLA—widely considered the finest regional-based archive in our discipline—and, in 1968, to create the renowned Folklore program at Memorial. His preceding quarter century as a professional folklorist had seen him rise to prominence in the field while holding a number of academic positions in Kentucky, Arkansas, Illinois, California and New York State sometimes involving extensive administrative responsibilities that impeded his scholarly endeavors. It was Halpert's misfortune that the Depression and World War II had delayed his post-graduate education such that he was thirty-seven when he received the doctorate (Indiana, 1948). As he confessed, his age made him aspire to positions of more senior rank, which he got, but at lesser institutions where his ability to develop Folklore Studies was limited (Carpenter). Nonetheless, the various moves augmented Halpert's own archive, for he was a compulsive collector, forever documenting in pocketsize notebooks or on cards whatever items he encountered during numerous field trips or in daily life. Everywhere he went, he also followed the advice offered him by Harold W. Thompson and Louis C. Jones at the first American Folklore Society meeting he attended (1937) and consequently made a practice of promoting awareness of the nature and meaning of folklore by requiring students to document and analyze their own traditions. Personally encountering numerous versions of a variety of oral traditions in the course of his many moves no doubt also encouraged in Halpert the comparative textual approach he had imbibed in the course of his studies with Stith Thompson—to the benefit of his extensive and learned notes but likely also the detriment of their timely publication. Halpert was perhaps the most dedicated and meticulous compiler of comparative notes in the second half of the 20th century and, as a result, a perfectionist who sought before he published anything to incorporate into it *every* relevant reference he could track down. It is, therefore, scarcely surprising that he published far less than he might have though he always adjured his students to "get it out…you can always contradict yourself later, but first you have to get it into print!" He himself always much preferred the hunt—field collecting or library research—to its documentation in writing. It was only through the dedicated collaboration of John Widdowson that *Folktales of Newfoundland*, Halpert's greatest publication during his lifetime, ever appeared and that a volume pertaining to his New Jersey song collecting (the subject of his doctoral dissertation) is now actually forthcoming.

Halpert was an influential president of the American Folklore Society in 1955 and 1956 during the period when it was distinguishing itself from the American Anthropological Association, a process in which his combined English and Anthropology background spanned the divide. His presidential address, "Folklore: Breadth versus Depth"(1956) is an enduring statement of the contextual-functional approach that he championed. He is now best known as a specialist in folk narrative. Yet, he left a considerable legacy of recorded music and photographs from his fieldwork in New Jersey, New York and the South along with extensive field notes and transcriptions, analyses and classifications derived from his own and others' fieldwork. These materials, deposited by his widow in the American Folklife Center in 2004, together with Halpert's other (primarily WPA-related) collections in the AFC and at the Archive of Traditional Music at Indiana University, now account for virtually all of his work in the United States (Taft 2004:5).

Halpert began publishing childlore as inaugural editor of *Hoosier Folklore Bulletin* (1942-44), in which he regularly included, as Mrs. Halpert recalls, "bits of this and that", basically collectanea from various sources including her. His first significant publication in the area was "Skipping Rhymes from Calgary, Alberta" (*California Folklore Quarterly* 3[1944]:154-155). Short, but valuable and influential, this piece reflected Halpert's habitual collecting: wherever he went, seemingly from his teens to his mid-eighties, from whatever person revealed him/herself to be a bearer of childlore. Herbert Halpert collected childlore lore because it variously but thoroughly fascinated him. Among the papers left in his office as well as his home upon his death, this collectanea figures prominently—card files related to rhymes of all kinds, babylore, an extensive collection of threatening figure lore, weatherlore and other dites, to name but a few of his particular foci, and numerous related folders on each, plus his voluminous correspondence, personally typed (in triplicate!), as well as notes for, or portions of, written pieces. Childlore clearly was a matter of consequence to Herbert Halpert the scholar, the collector, the teacher and the man.

Throughout his long career, Halpert retained his interest in childlore and encouraged its documentation whenever and wherever he could, amassing a considerable personal collection and utilizing lore gathered by and from students to build several archival collections, the largest being MUNFLA. Among the most interesting of such work is a series of biographical essays written by Newfoundland students concerning "Growing Up in My Community"[5]. Vernacular in expression, rich in detailed description and contextual data, these relatively brief accounts (approximately 15-20 pages each) are priceless documents of pre-modernized Newfoundland outport culture from the viewpoint of children of those times. These were arguably the most intrinsically valuable of the many assignments Halpert gave his students, for they chronicled a way of life that the writers themselves both experienced and saw disappear into memory.

Thus Halpert developed childlore as a significant pedagogical tool through which the students who documented their own experiences with it came to realize its use, meaning and function in their lives and communities, thereby appreciating its overall significance. He also employed his extensive experience in documenting childlore as a basis for generating the first (and detailed) generic section of the classification system in MUNFLA, thereby establishing a standard for the whole (replicated in Lovelace, Smith and Widdowson, pages 389-94). It is worth noting that he never conceived of children's folklore as a "minor genre," as it was commonly labeled and taught elsewhere; rather his courses presented the material in association with language, play, creativity, cultural acquisition and the dynamics of cultural expression.

Halpert's recognition of the value of tradition bearers documenting and studying their own lore extended to schoolchildren. In 1949 he was among the lead organizers and key participants at the First National Conference on American Folklore for Children at Ball State College in Muncie, Indiana from June 28-30. This very successful gathering, which involved the Kentucky Folklore Society, was the first ever conference on this genre held under the auspices of folklore as opposed to the more typical association with education. The attendees included many teachers as well as folklorists, some of the latter being directly connected with teachers colleges, such as Halpert who was teaching (primarily student teachers) at Murray State at the time, and Dorothy Howard[6] who was then at State Teachers College in Frostburg, Maryland. Howard and

Halpert corresponded at some length from 1949, when he first contacted her in the course of his work as compiler of the "Works in Progress" section for the *Journal of American Folklore*, until 1961.[7] They regularly exchanged papers and information and both took part in the 1950 Folklore Institute at Indiana University. A recurring theme in their correspondence was the society that was intended to result from the Muncie meeting and was tentatively formed with Dr. Howard as Vice-President. Under the lead of Dr. Elisabeth Pilant (of Ball State) the organization faltered along, showing little by way of tangible results except indirectly through the childlore bibliography compiled by Dorothy Howard with Dr. Eloise Ramsey and published in 1952 in the American Folklore Society Bibliographical Series. Howard wrote to Halpert with respect to this work:

> What we are turning out will be a good instrument for the society, I believe. And in addition, should completely answer the Pilant delusions of grandeur about themselves and folklore (January 3, 1952).

Evidently personalities and purposes conflicted with the result that the society petered out. There was to be a hiatus of almost twenty-five years before the Children's Folklore Section was created with Dr. Halpert among its early members. Meanwhile, Halpert taught many Education students how to interpret and utilize folklore in the classroom; indeed, undergraduate folklore courses at Memorial were regularly cross-listed as courses in Sociology and Education. Further, Halpert convinced one of his earliest graduate students, Larry Small (previously a high school teacher), to spearhead the development of a folklore-folklife curriculum for use as an elective for grades 10-12 in Newfoundland high schools. The result was *Folk Literature: A Folklore/Folklife Educational Series,* 10 small paperback volumes by David Buchan, Kenneth Goldstein, Larry Small, Gerald Thomas and John Widdowson (all noted scholars of Newfoundland traditions) on *Methodology and Field Research, Folk Tale I & II, Folksongs, Recitations and Monologues, Ballads, Folk Say I & II, Folk Legend and Personal Experience Narrative, and Folk Drama.* A single volume, *Voices Through Time,* based upon and containing excerpts from these 1983 volumes, but (according to one of the editors) more "user-friendly" for teachers, was published in 1993 and is still in use (Small).

Herbert Halpert was a lifelong, inveterate bibliophile. By the mid-thirties, he had already begun to develop his personal folklore library by purchasing used American folksong books and other song collections as well as classic books on children's lore. Eventually, he (with the very active collaboration of his wife) amassed one of, if not *the* most, significant international and multilingual libraries on childlore and children's culture including many anthropological and sociological studies of childhood, memoirs and related accounts of growing up in many parts of the world (especially the British Isles), as well as numerous regional and ephemeral works. Among his papers he left a six-page "want-list" of works pertaining to children and childhood—a testimony to his never-ending interest in childlore. The portion of the Halperts' over 15,000-volume library pertaining to such material was one of the means through which he influenced many of his students and colleagues to pursue work in the area and encouraged as well as informed their research. Unfortunately, this magnificent resource has been inaccessible for such purposes since 2001 as it is in the process of being accessioned as a separate collection to the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial. Dr. Halpert's sweeping bibliographic knowledge led him to provide addenda, errata and various suggestions to whomever published listings of works in the area. His own bibliography pertaining to childlore is short, but important overall, comprising some 13 works in total (listed in the appendix).

The 1960s brought many changes for the Halperts, not the least of which was the move to Newfoundland. This relocation offered a new beginning in a land rich in all kinds of lore; the stimulating prospect of starting a graduate, as well as an undergraduate program; an academically supportive environment among scholars of Newfoundland representing various disciplines who all valued their distinctive culture and history and *wanted* folklorists to preserve, study and teach about it—there was, then, no need for Halpert to make the recurring and tiresome argument about the value of oral traditions and fight—as ever before—to preserve whatever courses and collections he had managed to create. But it was, as well, an ending…in 1963 (as indicated by the termination of his correspondence on the subject dating back to 1946 with Miss Helen Stewart at Rutgers University Press), he at last gave up on his planned great publication on children's rhymes and singing games. He had worked for years to put together a manuscript entitled *"Singing on the Sidewalks: The Folk Rhymes and Singing Games of New York City Children"* but had encountered various obstacles, starting with the musical transcriptions which never met his standards for publication. He had established daunting goals as outlined in his brief prefatory remarks:

> Since 1883 when Newell published his ***Songs** and Games of American Children*, there has been no serious attempt in this country to collect or interpret the rhymes and singing games of children. New York's crowded sidewalks offered the perfect laboratory for such a project. This large collection is the result of several years of investigation….The author, a trained anthropologist as well as folklorist, treats the material as a study of the self-contained world of children….An exhaustive list of parallels from the American and British tradition will form an appendix which need not disturb the general reader, but which will be valuable to those with a scholarly or professional interest….This is a book which will fascinate every adult by recalling to him the nearly forgotten riches of his childhood. Teachers, psychologists, folklorists, anthropologists, will find that it offers material for serious consideration.

Unfortunately, his material (while rich) was out of date; he had not done serious collecting in New York for decades. The contemporary standards required far more contextual data than he had recorded in the thirties. He knew his "exhaustive list" to be incomplete—he was still in the process of creating a card file of children's rhymes and games representing all English language traditions, but mostly of America from which he hoped to produce an American collection similar to the extant British ones. Halpert continued to potter with his rhyme card files as long as he worked, and they are still incomplete. By targeting "every adult" as well as "[t]eachers, psychologists, folklorists, anthropologists" he managed to address no one audience to the expectations of a publisher. The University of Chicago Press rejected the work for just such reasons. This was a singularly crushing blow to Halpert because he was, after all, President of the American Folklore Society around this time, and Thomas Sebeok, editor of the American Folklore Society Bibliographic and Special Series, had approached the press in the hopes of their producing a joint publication with the Society.

The work contains some very interesting insights into the "singing on the sidewalks" such as differences between traditions in "Negro Harlem"and those elsewhere in the city. As Halpert notes:

> The children there know a large number of taunts, game rhymes and singing games found in the rest of Manhattan. I made a particular point of checking this when I was collecting there, and found variants of nearly all the rhymes I had secured elsewhere....But Harlem children also have a large body of distinctive material which is not found elsewhere in the city. Parallels to some of it can be found in collections made from the deep South....The assumption can be safely made, and this was verified by inquiry from the children who knew this exotic material, that most of it was learned from families which had come North just a short time before these rhymes were collected (18).

These are insightful observations, but the reader is left to wonder what has changed in the decades since the greater portion of the collection was compiled. Similar questions arise with respect to Halpert's commentary about the children of various immigrant groups and what traditions were shared among distinct groups or not, as well as his identification of distinctions in game playing whereby, for instance, black children were willing to play singing games in groups of four or five on the edge of streets and therefore could and did retain a vital tradition of playing them. Meanwhile, white Anglo children seemingly felt the need for larger groups and spaces, which were far less common in Manhattan, with the result that among the latter group the games were dying out (47-48). Chapter IV offers an interesting but brief discussion in five pages of "Modern Elements" that had infiltrated the content of folk rhymes and games, which again begs the question of on-going and subsequent transformation. Overall, the collectanea in the study far outweighs any discussion and analysis, more of which might have made the texts themselves more meaningful and, potentially, the work as a whole more likely to receive the "serious consideration" to which its author aspired.

What is even more interesting, though, is the amount of analysis (not included in the manuscript) that Halpert undertook on the subject of children's rhymes, using his own collections as a starting point. He wrote paragraphs upon paragraphs on various topics; proposed schema for "Historical Evolution of ball and rope rhymes," "Laws of Change in Children's Variation," Functional Change" among others; described the "complicated line of descent of autograph verse"; and produced much more, including a highly articulate and powerful lecture on the significance of "the folklore used or invented or adapted in the world of children" which he included in a series of public presentations he gave during the year he held the Winthrop Pickard Bell Chair of Maritime Studies in the Department of Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University in 1979-80. He knew far more about childlore and the world of children than he could ever stuff between two covers, so he stopped trying and left treasures for future scholars to build upon.

This is a mere overview of a larger study which effectively will be a critical edition of "*Singing on the Sidewalks*", supplemented with relevant portions of the manuscript material left by Dr. Halpert, and, where pertinent, drawing upon his abundant child-related collectanea (including his child-related library). The project will include the creation of an on-line rhyme index from the Halpert card files in MUNFLA, such that all those many enjoyable hours he spent searching out parallels might be shared with younger generations of scholars. The overall aim is, of course, to extend the central goal in this short paper, that is, to establish Herbert Halpert as a major influence on the academic documentation and appreciation of childlore and to realize the considerable legacy he—old guard or not—left for scholars in this area to pursue.

York University

NOTES

[1] These were effectively community centers that offered immigrants and recent migrants to the city a range of social services including programming and recreational facilities for children.

[2] Combined with expeditions to the Pineys of southern New Jersey where he collected folksongs at the suggestion of Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, herself a folksong collector and one of Halpert's former English instructors at NYU.

[3] The impromptu, spontaneous circumstances of this collecting mitigated against such documentation and tended to privilege the texts as the children were mostly encountered casually in passing rather than in anything approximating an interview situation.

[4] A recent disk included in *Music and Spoken Word from the Archives of Folk Culture: an Illustrated Guide* produced by the American Folklife Center contains several short examples from Halpert's early collections.

[5] Catalogued according to the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, Genre Classification for Individual Student Collections under section "I. Background Information and Special Reports" as sub-section "C. Personal reminiscences of life in community."

[6] Howard received her doctorate in Education from New York University in 1938 with a dissertation on "Folk Jingles of American Children: A Collection and Study of Rhymes Used by Children Today." She was later to go on to undertake significant research and to be very influential on the development of childlore studies in Australia, notably on June Factor, for instance.

[7] Mrs. Halpert noted that he corresponded at length with many scholars who worked on childlore and cited as one example Roger Abrahams, specifically when he was doing his studies on riddles and jump rope rhymes in the 1960s.

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APPENDIX

A Chronological Bibliography of Works by Herbert Halpert on Childlore

"More about the 'Little Moron':[Part 1]." *Hoosier Folklore Bulletin* 2.2(1943): 49-50.

"More about the 'Little Moron':[Part 2]." *Hoosier Folklore Bulletin* 3.1(1944): 49-50.

"Skipping Rhymes from Calgary, Albert." *California Folklore Quarterly* 3(1944): 154-155.

"Children's Game Rimes from New Hampshire." *Journal of American Folklore* 58 (1945):349-351.

"Folk Rhymes of New York City Children." Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, 1946.

"Singing Game Variants of 'The Sleeping Beauty'." *Journal of American Folklore* 60(1947): 421-423.

"Folktales in Children's Books: Some Notes and Reviews." *Midwest Folklore* 2(1952): 59-71.

Editor, Special Issue, "Student Collections." *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin* 19:3 (September 1953):49-80.

Editor, Kentucky Issue. *Midwest Folklore* 3.3(Fall 1953): 131-176.

Lucille S. Mitchell, "My School Days." *Midwest Folklore* 3.3(Fall 1953):169-173.

"Chain Letters." *Western Folklore* 15(1956):287-289.

"Singing on the Sidewalks: The Folk Rhymes and Singing Games of New York City Children." Unpublished MS, c1956.

Editor, "Children's Marching Chants and Military Numskull Legends: A Note." In *A Folklore Sampler from the Maritimes.* Memorial University of Newfoundland

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CO-CREATING HARRY POTTER: LOCAL EXPRESSIONS OF A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

CONTESSA SMALL

Since the first release of J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, in 1997, Rowling's popular series has sold in excess of 300 million copies in 63 languages ("Global Potter" 2005). Harry Potter has been referred to as "the biggest children's publishing and merchandising phenomena of modern times" (Heilman 2003:1). Known popularly as "Pottermania" (Turner-Vorbeck 2003:14), Rowling's books have prompted a massive global commercial and cultural industry (Whited 2002:2). Beyond the seven-volume series, Harry Potter has inspired numerous feature films produced by Warner Brothers and available on VHS and DVD, a barrage of books, movie soundtracks, wall calendars, trading cards, carrying cases, video and board games, a Harry Potter iPod, magic sets, watches, action figures, candy, embossed furniture, clothing and costumes, linens and home decorations, and a huge variety of other merchandising paraphernalia (Turner-Vorbeck 2003:17). Corporate consumerism surrounding Harry Potter has moved beyond all previous commercialization of children's literature, television, and movie images, including Superman, Spiderman, Power Rangers and Pokémon (Teare 2002:331), all of which have prompted their own massive merchandising campaigns. Spanning the world and dominating the market, the Harry Potter series has quite simply become a global phenomenon, a global phenomenon that children's literary critic Jack Zipes describes as the "Harry Potter phenomena" (2000:170-89). He writes that the word "phenomena":

> ...generally refers to some kind of *occurrence,* change, or fact that is directly perceived; quite often the event is striking... Whether an occurrence or a person, there is something incredible about the phenomenon that draws our attention. We hesitate to believe in the event or person we perceive, for a transformation has unexpectedly taken place. One of the reasons we cannot believe our senses is because the phenomenon defies rational explanation. There seems to be no logical cause or clear explanation for the sudden appearance or transformation. Yet it is there, visible and palpable. The ordinary becomes extraordinary, and we are taken by the phenomena that we admire, worship, and idolize it without grasping it fully why we regard it with so much reverence and awe except to say that so many others regard it as a phenomenon and, therefore, it must be a phenomenon. (2000:173)

A number of scholars have critiqued the corporate construction of children's popular culture arguing, as does Douglas Kellner, that children's traditional artifacts are being replaced and manipulated by "media culture objects" (1997:85). Tammy Turner-Vorbeck writes, "Corporate consumerism's mass marketing of manufactured cultural products… involves exercising control over the imaginations of children robb[ing them] of the free use of their own minds" (2003:19). The proliferation of Potter commercial productions and mass marketing is, however, only a small part of the Pottermania story. While merchandising companies certainly target, exploit and manipulate children's popular culture, it is, however, problematic to see all contemporary children's culture as simply a product of corporate interests. In fact, Potter fans participate in a wide range of local activities including Potter theme parties, book launch parties, movie parties, Internet fan clubs, fan fiction, fan-art, fan poetry, reading circles, chat sessions, discussion boards, rumours in anticipation of new volumes and homemade costumes (Borah 2002:344).

This paper provides a local ethnography exploring children's participation in the Harry Potter phenomenon in an attempt to understand how children are affected by global commodified culture and processes. Harris M. Berger defines these global processes as "ones that spread over large geographical areas without regard for national governments or their borders and institutions" (2003:xviii). Most importantly, this paper will address how children individually and locally manipulate mass corporate phenomena as an active means of taking ownership of their vernacular cultural expressions.

Primary data for this analysis is based on interviews with seven children. The first interview took place at Mary Queen of Peace School, a local Roman Catholic elementary school in St. John's, Newfoundland. I interviewed five Grade three (age eight) children who are self-proclaimed Harry Potter fans. Permission was given by the parents of the children, the teacher of the class, and the principal of the school. (However, given the ages of the children, I have withheld their names and assigned synonyms.) This interview took place on October 31, at which time the children were dressed in their Halloween costumes (four dressed as Harry Potter characters, one was not.) I spoke with the children in a group and held the interview in a separate classroom, directly across the hall from their teacher's classroom. In addition, I interviewed one Grade two (age 7) boy and his family in St. John's, and also spoke with my nephew (age 12) from Corner Brook, Newfoundland. This paper is based on the interviews with these children and one family, along with scholarly and online research.

CORPORATE VIEWS OF CHILDREN

Due to the intense corporate interests in Pottermania, children have continually been treated in the scholarly literature as passive receptors of the commercial construction of Harry Potter. Turner-Vorbeck, for example, asserts, "It is no longer safe to assume that children are able to generate purely their own reflections upon items of child culture such as literature for children" (2003:19).

This falls in line with many other scholars who survey children's culture such as Zipes. Zipes credits the influence of commodity consumption and global corporations as dictating children's tastes. Referring specifically to the Harry Potter phenomena, Zipes writes:

> Phenomena such as the Harry Potter books are driven by commodity consumption that at the same time sets the parameters of reading and aesthetic taste. Today the experience of reading for the young is mediated through the mass media and marketing so that the pleasure and meaning of a book will often be prescripted or dictated by convention. What readers passionately devour and enjoy may be, like many Disney film or Barbie doll, a phenomenal experience and have personal significance, but it is also an *induced* experienced calculated to conform to a cultural convention of amusement and distraction. (2000:172).

To help understand why scholars have taken this stance, I turn to Shirley R. Steinberg and Joe L. Kincheloe and their view of the contemporary crisis of childhood. They write:

> New times have ushered in a new era of childhood. …the information explosion so characteristic of our contemporary era has played a central role in undermining traditional notions of childhood. Those who have shaped, directed, and used the information technology of the late twentieth century have played an exaggerated role in the reformulation of childhood. Childhood is a social and historical artifact, not simply a biological entity. (1997:1)

Steinberg and Kincheloe continue to explain that childhood, as a creation of society, is subject to change whenever major social transformations take place (1997:2). For example, traditional childhood lasted from about 1850 to 1950 when children were removed from factories and placed in schools. The modern family thus developed and brought with it adult accountability for children's welfare: "By 1900 many believed that childhood was a birthright — a perspective that eventuated in a biological, not a cultural definition of childhood" (Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997:2). It was during this era that the protected child, and modern child psychology was constructed.

"Living in an historical period of great change and social upheaval, critical observers are just beginning to notice changing social and cultural conditions in relation to this view of childhood" (Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997:2). For example, Steinberg and Kincheloe cite that in the 1950s, 80 percent of children lived in homes in which the two biological parents were married to one another; however, in the l980s this percentage fell to 12 percent (1997:2). As examples, what we have here are changing notions of childhood affected by social, economic, cultural and technological factors. "Changing economic realities coupled with children's access to information about the adult world have drastically changed childhood. The traditional childhood genie is out of the bottle and is unable to return" (Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997:3).

Scholar Kellner also cites media culture a new influence on childhood development. He writes:

> Traditionally, young people were educated through fairy tales, folk traditions, and children's literature, as well as through institutions like family, school, and church. In our times, media culture has replaced traditional institutions as major instruments of socialization, and young people often receive role models and materials for identity from media corporations rather than their parents or teachers. (1997:85)

In their attempt to analyze the corporate production of popular kinderculture and its impact on children, Steinberg and Kincheloe explain "the idea that education takes place in a variety of social sites including but not limited to schooling. Pedagogical sites are those places where power is organized and deployed, including libraries, TV, movies, newspapers, magazines, toys, advertisements, video games, books, sports, and so on" (1997:3-4). As well, Kellner adds:

> Moreover, a commercially produced and dominated youth culture has replaced traditional artifacts of children's culture. In this media youth culture, popular music, television, film

> and video and computer games create new idols, aspirations, and artifacts that profoundly influence the thought and behavior of contemporary youth. (1997:85)

Steinberg and Kincheloe explain that the organizations that create this cultural curriculum are not educational agencies but rather commercial corporations that operate (not for social good) but for individual gain.

> Replacing traditional classroom lectures and seatwork with dolls with a history, magic kingdoms, animated fantasies, interactive videos, virtual realities, kick-boxing TV heroes, spine-tingling horror books, and an entire array of entertainment forms produced ostensibly for adults but eagerly consumed by children, corporate America has revolutionized childhood (1997:4).

Not only have corporations revolutionized childhood, but corporate advertisers have also produced worldviews that "to some degree always let children know that the most exciting things life can provide are produced by your friends in corporate America" (Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997:4). Keeping this in mind, along with the fact that major global organizations in large part have free reign to produce almost any kinderculture that is profitable (Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997:13), there is little doubt about the affects of the Harry Potter phenomena on children. Indeed, interviews with all children, revealed that they each bought some Potter merchandise, including DVDs, Playstation videos games, lego sets, game boards, posters, a Quidditch designed birthday cake, Tom Riddle's diary, action figures, pajamas, glasses, wands and other official costume pieces. As well, when I asked Nicholas why he considered someone he knew to be a bigger fan than himself, he answered with an eyebrow raising response. The following interview excerpt illustrates both the power and prestige of manufactured goods to a child.

Contessa: What do all of your friends think about Harry Potter?
Nicholas: Cool.
Contessa: They think it's cool? And are you the biggest Harry Potter fan?
Nicholas: Yeah.
Contessa: Or do you know anybody who is a bigger Harry Potter fan than you?
Nicholas: Yeah.
Contessa: Who?
Nicholas: Somebody named Sophie.
Contessa: Oh, somebody you know? Why is she a bigger Harry Potter fan than you?
Nicholas: Every Halloween she bes Harry Potter.
Contessa: Oh, she dresses up as Harry Potter? I see.
Nicholas: And her friends, her, last Halloween her friends were suppose to dress up as Ron and Hermione, with her, but they never, they dressed up as vampires.
Contessa: Harry doesn't hang out with vampires, does he?
Nicholas: No.
Contessa: And why would she be a bigger Harry Potter fan than you?
Nicholas: She has more stuff.
Contessa: Would you say that's why she's a bigger fan?
Nicholas: Yeah. (N. Turner 2005)

In this case, Nicholas equates fandom with product ownership, as does my nephew Theodore Strickland in his interview. When asked why he indicated a certain boy to be a Harry Potter fan, Theodore responded by saying, "Because he has all those Harry Potter shirts and books and costumes" (2006). For both Nicholas and Theodore, the biggest or most easily recognized fans are those who best display their fandom through products and merchandise, which no doubt illustrates and expose what Steinberg and Kincheloe call the "footprints of power left by the corporate producers of kinderculture and their effects on the psyches of our children" (1997:7). However, throughout their work, Steinberg and Kincheloe fail to see children as anything but passive receptors to corporate culture, unable to navigate through the changing world of commercialization on their own. To some extent this is may be true; for example, according to Rebecca Sutherland Borah, it would be a mistake to assume mass marketing equates to fan-friendliness, as endeavors by both fans and scholars have been discouraged by global corporate interests.

According to the corporations, young fans should consume as much as possible, but woe to fans of any ages who would like to make any corporate-owned property their own.

> Even more so than adult fans, young fans are discouraged from creating their own texts and making their own objects in favour of buying "genuine" goods and joining "official" fan clubs. Rather than being encouraged to connect with other readers/viewers and to participate in shared communal activities (which don't directly benefit a company), youngsters are treated as possible consumers, ready to accept whatever is hailed as the newest fad to be viewed and collected. (2002:349)

While my personal local research proves children to be anything but passively receptive, probably the best example of this corporate possessiveness occurred when Warner Brothers bought the rights to produce the Harry Potter films. In doing so, Warner Brothers also directly bought the rights to "all things Potter" (Whited 2002:11), including ownership of more than one hundred Potter-related domain names (Borah 2002:353). In essence, this marked the beginning of mass marketing and commercialization of Harry Potter worldwide, which also brought with it the global take-over of previously-existing Harry Potter fan based websites.

> For example, in December 2000, a fifteen-year-old British girl named Claire Field who maintained a fan site called *The Boy Who Lived* received what a *Boston Globe* editorial termed "a terse, pro-forma copyright protection letter" from attorneys at Warner Brothers… Warner Brothers' letter, according to the *Globe,* asked Field to turn over her domain name (www.harrypotterguide.co.uk) because it could "cause consumer confusion or dilutions of the intellectual property." Youngsters with similar sites and similar letters were said by the *Globe* to be "scared to death." (Whited 2002:11)

An online community immediately emerged in support of the young webmasters who received similar letters, creating a group called "The Defense Against the Darks Arts Project" (DADA). This group was "jointly spearheaded by two webmasters who did not receive Warner Brothers letters: sixteen-year-old Heather Lawyer of Reston, Virginia, and Alastair Alexander, thirty-three, of London" (Whited 2002:11). According to the website (www.dprohet.com/data), Lawyer and Alexander called for a complete boycott of Warner Brothers, including Harry Potter tie-in merchandise and the film *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*:

> In February 2001, Lawyer sent press releases about the DADA project to national media organizations in the United States and the United Kingdom. According to Alexander's website (www.PotterWar.org.uk), by mid-March, Warner Brothers announced that it would take no further action against Claire Field or anyone else who had received a letter. Alexander says that Warner Brothers did not expediently clarify this position to all the young webmasters that they previously targeted and that one young man permanently lost his domain name. (Whited 2002:11)

It has been said that, "Rowling herself appears to be very seriously attempting a literary achievement, but recent actions by her promoters could actually undermine her efforts." (Whited 2002:11). This is certainly illustrated by a discussion-board comment I found on the online forum forums.harrypotterportal.com, a Harry Potter Portal Message board about Harry Potter spoofs. Quotes are given as they appeared online.

Trh391:	Why doesn't someone make a spoof on Harry Potter?
AceDozer:	just wait. Maybe there'll be one later.
Slytherin~Fangirl:	They probably haven't made one yet, because they are scared JK will sue them!! (Trh391 2002; AceDozer 2002; Slytherin~Fangirl 2002)

In this case, Slytherin~Fangirl makes known her keen awareness of the tension between fans and corporate interests involved in the official world of Harry Potter. And as illustrated in the case of Claire Field, who essentially won her case over Warner Brothers (however, not all webmasters did) children possess a particular type of individual power over global corporations. Fearing bad publicity, Warner Brothers took the boycott threat seriously and "managed to smooth over the most serious problems in the press. However, their heavy-handed legal tactics did have some negative consequences such as creating an adversarial relationship with parts of the fan community" (Borah 2002:355). As well, some fans interviewed by Borah predicted trouble ahead if Rowling and Warner Brothers chose to strictly enforce copyrights. Borah cites some fans as saying, "I don't think they realize what a mess being heavy-handed with these children will cause," and "I wouldn't want millions of kids toting heavy books after me. But, seriously it's like that old cliché, they'll be cutting off their nose to spite their face" (Borah 2002:358).

Emphasized in these quotes is the fact that while children may be obvious targets for commercializers, when placed in the spotlight of the media, however, children have a special kind of power over corporations. Being a child means holding a power card that can sometimes be played when publicly threatened. So while children can indeed at times be passive to commercialization and merchandising, they can also be aggressive and powerful if crossed, refusing to let global corporations infringe on their personal and local enjoyments of literature. This topic of individual power is of particular importance to the following section in which I address how children locally manipulate a global phenomenon.

LOCAL EXPRESSIONS OF A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Regarding popular music and the effects of mass media on local styles, Berger writes:

> Updating an earlier generation's fears about the homogenizing effects of mass media, some critics of globalization have warned that the transnational proliferation of (often Western) popular music will lead to a "graying out" of local musical styles. More recent work, however, emphasizes that globalization may also produce new musical styles, and such research seeks to understand the distinctive social and cultural formations (such as hybridized ethnic musics or continent-spanning music subcultures) that emerge from the shifting demographics, mobile populations, and proliferating media technologies of globalization. (2003:xvii)

If the media technologies and global conventions Berger speaks of can be used by individuals to produce local musical styles, then the same can be applied to the Potter phenomena. What follows is evidence of how Harry Potter global commercial saturation can also produce localized Harry Potter interpretation and expressions.

As previously mentioned, intense corporate interests in Pottermania has resulted in children being continually been treated in the scholarly literature as the metaphorical "sitting ducks." However, Peter Narváez writes, that the fan "is not necessarily a helpless pawn or the victim of mass entertainment industries" (1987:38). In fact, my personal research and interviews with children suggests that children have developed their own ways of generating meaning from and celebrating the series. For example, rather than passively buying into corporate mediated texts, these children participate in character impersonation through role-playing and costuming, manipulate the series to create their own games, and illustrate resistance through parody. As well, my online research also revealed a unique ownership of the Harry Potter series in which children extended narratives beyond Rowling's novels creating new literary forms and artwork shared through peer groups and a significant role for theme-based clubs and subgroups. In essence, my research on what Kathleen McDonnell (1994) calls "kid culture" reveals children are not simply robotic receptors of commercial culture, nor are they less knowledgeable than adults.

IMAGINATION AND MAGIC

While commodity consumption may indeed set reading and aesthetic tastes in terms of what books are produced and available to children for reading, we cannot forget that it is children themselves who hold the power to create and support literature popularity.

> The popularity of Harry Potter emerged with the schoolyard chatter, not with marketing hype. Today, two-thirds of kids ages 8 to 18 have read at least one in author J.K. Rowling's series of Potter books— properties that initially arrived with comparatively little of the fanfare we've come to associate with new book titles. A generation that has been marketed to its entire life birthed its own buzz, took ownership of the Potter brand and declared it genuine. Until now, virtually everything marketed to kids has been saturated by hype, and they're hyped out. *Harry* grew organically, and it is the purity of these origins that has created real equity for the brand. (Lynch 2001:26)

If this is true, writes Suman Gupta,

> …then the Harry Potter books are worth examining for one special reason: they should give, more than any other recent book, adults some indication of that magical thing — the kinds of textual qualities that grab children. What is the factor X that gets Harry Potter books an extraordinary endorsement from children? (2003:9)

I believe that Gupta hints at the answer in the very wording of his own question. While searching for that 'that magical thing," the X-factor may very well be the magic itself. No doubt, Harry Potter is a world of magic and fantasy — a world of flying broomsticks, charmed candy, magic spells, potions and wands, powerful creatures, and magical quests and journeys. As Deborah O'Keefe writes, "Reading fantasy is not so much an escape *from* something as a liberation *into* something, into openness and possibility and coherence" (2003:1). As well, illustrated in the transcript below, when I posed the question as to why they liked Harry Potter, each child unanimously responded with the word "magic."

Contessa: Why are you a Harry Potter fan?
Lucas: I just love him. [Laugher]
Contessa: Why?
Lucas: He's cute. [All laugh]
Contessa: What is it that you like about Harry Potter? What is it about the stories that you like?
Lucas: He's a real person.
Britney: No, he's not. [Laughter]
Contessa: Why do you like Harry Potter?
Britney: I just like the magic.
Contessa: You like the magic?
Lucas: And I like the flying on the broomsticks.
Contessa: How about everybody else? What do you like about Harry Potter?
Scott I like flying, I like the broomsticks, the magic and all the characters.
Lyndsay: Yes, so do I, except for Snape.
Amber: I like most of the characters, I like when they fly on the broomsticks and the magic.
Contessa: How about you?
Lyndsay: I'm a big reader so I love magic books arid really thick books. So, I really love the magic and Quidditch.
Lucas: I like Quidditch too. (Shears 2005; McInnis 2005; Snook 2005)

My interview with Theodore also reveals his attraction to magic, "I like how they fly on brooms, and their magic wands, and how they levitate stuff (2006). If magic is indeed the X-factor then this is something that the corporations cannot specifically sell, for magic lies in the imagination of each individual child. I am sure that if corporations could bottle potions and sell flying broomsticks they would; however, this is left up to the child to create and control. Therefore, when using their imaginations to conjure magic spells, children demonstrate their power to understand, interpret and re-appropriate. Rather than passively purchasing "official items" and playing with them in a dictated fashion, children selectively manipulate, devise and create their own Harry Potter world. For example, Nicholas's mom, Sherry Turner, describes Nicholas's magic potions.

Sherry: He does experiments. Concoctions, toothpaste, water, shampoo. Harry Potter potions.
Contessa: Tell me about your Harry Potter potions?
Nicholas: I usually make them to clean the carpet. [Laughter] (N. Turner 2005; S. Turner 2005)

Mrs. Turner provides further detail:

> I had a bottle, some garlic-oil came in it, when we used to buy garlic-oil. It's a nice little, like a potion bottle. And I go up there, and there's toothpaste and shampoo — my expensive shampoo! — squeezing in there, with toothpaste and water. And a few days later you'd find these bottles tucked away under the bed and stuff, right? "That's my potions, don't pour them out, that's my potions!" (S. Turner 2005)

Another good example occurred when I challenged the group of children with issues of good versus evil, stating that I liked Snape (a Hogwarts professor known to torment Harry). I suddenly found myself being threatened by the children with a magical curse. They took great pleasure in punishing me for my comment, and while talking to one particular child, they orchestrated a group magic spell on me. This took place while they were doing impressions and talking about their favorite character.

Contessa: And is Ron your favorite character?
Lucas: No, I like Harry, ahm, most of the Defense against the Dart Arts, ahm, Dumbledore, Harry.
Britney: You already said Harry.
Lucas: Yeah, I know. Pretty much all of them except Snape. Pretty much, but, yeah, yeah.
Contessa: I like Snape.
Scott: No, he's, he's evil.
Lyndsay: [To Contessa] Oh, you never!
Contessa: I do!
Lucas: He's mean to Neville, he's mean to Neville.
Scott: He helps Voldemort.
[While talking over each other, as Lyndsay quietly tells everyone to put their wands up]
Lyndsay: [To the others] Okay, wands up.
Contessa: So, why did you put your wands up?
[Lyndsay laughs loudly]
Lucas: He's badddddd! [Laughter]
Contessa: Okay, I just have to ask one more question first… why did you put your wands up though?
Lyndsay: To kill you.
Britney: Because you like Snape!
Contessa: Well maybe I do, maybe I don't.
Lucas: Snape's evil and he's mean to most of the Gryffindors.
Lyndsay: Snape's ugly that's why I don't like him.

Lucas: He's mean to most of them. (Gardner 2005; McInnis 2005; Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

This interview excerpt further illustrates their motivation for casting spells:

Contessa: So, do you ever do these spells to people in real life, just playing and stuff?
ALL: Yeah.
Contessa: Like, when would you do it?
Amber: When we're outside.
Scott: I do it on my friends and my sister.
Contessa: When your anger at them or what?
Scott: Yeah. Sometimes when Dad says he's in Slytherin.
Lucas: On the computer, ahm, like I play this little game and I pretend I'm killing Snape. Cause, like, Harry has his wand and he's going all around trying to get these thingys. And then, ahm, when somebody shows up, I pretend to sleep and I try to kill them.
Contessa: And how about you? When do you do these spells?
Lyndsay: When I get really mad at my sister and she annoys me very much, I use the killing curse. (Gardner 2005; McInnis 2005; Moores 2005; Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

Not only are the children attracted to the concept of casting magical spells, but as demonstrated in their spell against me, the children explain how they use their magic spells on their friends – pesky brothers and sisters, even parents. When someone bothers them, children re-appropriate the spells to create meaning for themselves and demonstrate their annoyance with those around them (including me!). Scott illustrates this fact quite clearly in the following quote: "Whenever I put on my costume I feel like fighting Voldemort because my sister, she bes mean to, she starts being mean to me so I pretend she's the Death Eater and I chase after her around the house with my wand" (Gardner 2005). However, for Nicholas, who is a year younger than the grade three group, he says his spells are often directed "Usually at the monsters [that] are hiding" (N. Turner 2005). Therefore, not only do children playfully perform and direct their spells at friends and family, but spells can also be cast defensively as an imaginary means of warding of potential evil lurking in frightening spaces.

COSTUMING

While it would be wrong to suggest that children are not receptive to the lure of advertised products, they do not always use products as prescribed. Instead, children often combine elements of merchandise with homemade "found" items. Because I interviewed one group of children on Halloween, while they were wearing their costumes, I was able to witness this occurrence.

Amber as Hermione, wore a store-bought robe only, and said that she found her wand out on the ground — literally a "found" object. "I'm wearing the robe and I have the wand. I found it outside on the ground, and don't know where it came from. And it's a bit broken right there" (Moores 2005).

Scott as Harry Potter, had a store-bought robe, glasses and wand. But also wore an invisibility cloak that his mother made for him, as well as a cosmetically-applied scar. His comments reveal that he bought the cloak, glasses and wand all at the same time.

Scott: I like the robes and that, I have one of the robes and my mom made an invisibility cloak.
Contessa: And you're wearing glasses too.
Scott: I bought that with the robe and I bought the wand with them too. (Gardner 2005)

As Harry Potter, Lucas's manufactured costume pieces included an official Hogwarts School robe and glasses merchandise. He made his own wand and painted on his own lighting-bolt scar. As well, in the following quote when Lucas is interrupted by Lyndsay, it illustrates another important feature of costuming — the imagination. It is not so important to the children that they have an official Harry Potter wand, but what is really important is the specific imaginary feather inside it. Here, Lyndsay also provides a description of her Hermione costume.

Lucas: I really like the robes.
Contessa: So is this a homemade robe, or a bought robe?
Lucas: It's a bought robe. I just like the symbol, yeah, and...
Contessa: With your glasses?
Lucas: Yeah.
Contessa: You bought those?
Lucas: Yeah.
Lyndsay: I fixed them for him because he broke them.
Lucas: I made this wand.
Contessa: Did you make it yourself?
Lucas: Yeah, out of wood. A dog tried to chew it up. Evil!
Contessa: And you have the glasses, the robe...
Lucas: Yeah.
Contessa: ...and the wand
Lyndsay: [Interrupting] What kind of feather do you have in here? Do you have a feather or hair in it?
Lucas: You told me today.
Lyndsay: Yeah, I forget what you...she has a Veela hair, what do you have?
Lucas: Oh, I don't know.
Contessa: Is it a hair of the phoenix?
Lucas: No, I think she has it.
Lyndsay: I have the phoenix, cause you can get all kinds, so...
Contessa: So, let's, you tell me about what you're wearing today.
Lyndsay: Ahm, I don't know where I got this [holding out her robe] because my Aunt Krista wore it and so did my sister, and so did my mom. So, I don't really know where it came from. And I got my scarf because my uncle, I think he went to Brother Rice or some other school where this was part of their uniform, so he let me borrow it.
Contessa: Oh, cool, it looks just like the colors of Gryffindor right?
Lyndsay: It is.

Contessa:	Okay, your, your dress was from your mom, and it got passed down to you, which is like a robe, I thought it looked just like a robe, and your scarf, and what about your wand?
Lyndsay:	I got that at Chapters when the new one, when the new book was coming out. I was one of the first ones there to get the new book at midnight, except I went to Coles instead. (Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

With Lyndsay's costume description, we see two things happening. First, out of the whole group Lyndsay was the self-proclaimed "biggest fan" having read the books many times over, and taking her fandom of Harry Potter very seriously. However, she explains that her dress was handed down to her from her mom, aunt and sister. As well, her scarf was also passed onto her by her Uncle. So here we have clothing being passed on in a traditional, vernacular manner, by vertical transmission from one generation to the next, in order to meet a particular global costume ideal. Lyndsay, as the biggest fan, had no problem wearing "unofficial" homemade costume pieces; rather it is her attention to detail and knowledge of the Harry Potter world with which she is most concerned. For example, besides actively correcting the other children on their Harry Potter facts, she carries a voice of authority in the following interview excerpt.

> I don't really write my own. But have you heard of *Quidditch Through the Ages*? That's in the first book, when they're getting nervous about their flying lesson, I have that book at home, and I keep reading it over and over again. And I learned that the Golden Snitch was actually a real bird once except their getting extinct, so they had to get another one, like actually invent a new one. It was called the Golden Snidget. (Snook 2005)

As well, although her costume was largely homemade, Lyndsay's wand was not. Her comments also demonstrate an element of pride regarding how she acquired her store-bought wand, like a badge of honor or "war wound" for staying up late and wading through the crowds at midnight in order to get a copy of the first released books.

Because I interviewed Nicholas with most of his family present, I was able to get a better impression of costume making in terms of family contribution. Only Nicholas's signature Harry Potter glasses were purchased, white everything else was handmade by his parents. This being the third Halloween dressing up as Harry Potter, Nicholas owns two homemade robes — a blue Hogwarts School robe (which his mother said he had long outgrown) and a Quidditch robe both made by his mother. His mother also made a Hogwart's scarf "He's [husband] in the wand department and I'm in the costume department," laughed Mrs. Turner (S. Turner 2005). To make the crest of the robe, Nicholas and his mother used a Hogwarts school magnet that came in a package of Harry Potter Valentines. As for the Quidditch robes, mother, brother and aunt contributed in some fashion.

Nicholas:	She just copied this, and put red material; then Ned told her how to do the gold material around the [edge.]
Contessa:	How did you know how to make it Mom?
Sherry:	You know this red material, my aunt, she had this bag of it given to her, so I said, "That'd make a good Quidditch robe. Just the right material for this." (N. Turner 2005; S. Turner 2005)

As well, Nicholas's twin sister Sarah drew his scar on his forehead with a lip-liner pencil, and the father capped off the family involvement by making a finely crafted wand from wood work, "I'm after making so many now, I don't need a picture" (J. Turner 2005). Investigating how this family came together, each contributing to the production of Nicholas's Harry Potter costume, reveals their unique, local family dynamic and identity. As well, because Nicholas wore his costume everyday, for an entire summer, it also gave him a neighborhood identity. Although sporting an almost entirely homemade costume, Nicholas came to be known locally by his neighbours as Harry Potter. As Mrs. Turner explains: "Oh yeah, everybody on the street knows... But the robe, like I said, but he's, and, ah.... The neighbours, I'll be out looking for him and, where'd he go, and they say. 'Harry Potter's up at the top of the street,' or 'Harry Potter's over in this one's back yard.' Right? And I don't know if they even know his name" (2005).

IMITATION, PERFORMANCE AND PLAY

Not only are costumes made, but with a little imagination, everyday household items become magical objects. Ellen Seiter writes that children "are creative in their appropriation of consumer goods and media, and the meanings they make with these materials are not necessarily and not completely in line with a materialist ethos" (1993:10).

Here, corporations take a backseat to the child's imagination. For Nicholas, a Quidditch lover, all that's required in playing this magical game is a golf ball for the golden snitch; two baseballs for the bludgers; and a basketball for the quaffle. Using a baseball bat, and playing with his brother Ned, Quidditch regularly takes place in the Turner household.

Contessa: Do you ever make things like a golden snitch?
Nicholas: Yeah, I usually use a golf ball for that.
Contessa: What else?
Nicholas: In Quidditch, two bludgers and one quaffle.
Contessa: What do you use for that?
Nicholas: I use a basketball for the quaffle, and two baseballs for the bludgers. …I just take red gloves and cut the fingers out (N. Turner 2005)

When playing Harry Potter dress-up with his friend, Bradley, the children further adapt to their local surroundings by using a bathrobe for Bradley's Hogwarts robe, and blankets for invisibility cloaks.

As well, many of the children I spoke with participate in some form of Harry Potter imitation, performance, role-play and/or mimicry. For Nicholas, who possesses very little corporate merchandise but a wealth of imagination, his bed becomes the Weasley' s flying car, the living-room couch becomes the Hogwart's Express, and the Turner family stairwell becomes Hogwarts grand moving staircase. Ordinary, everyday items become extraordinary magical objects, providing the props Nicholas and his Mends can play with. Their everyday, home environment becomes a state where the children act out scenes from the movies as well as create their own scenarios. For many children like Nicholas, the Harry Potter series becomes a springboard for their own particular interests and creations. Like fan-fiction, such dramatic Harry Potter play illustrates that children "...have forged their own paths through the mire, finding ways to link theft experiences with the characters and situations from the series in a format that allows them to also connect with other readers of *Harry Potter"* (Bond and Michelson 2003:113).

Scott explains one of his particular play make-believe scenarios: "Me and my friend who lives across the street, we use my cloaks, my robes, and we put them on and pretend we're chasing after Dementors and werewolves, and pretend we're using spells on them.... We just make it up in our own mind" (Gardner 2005).

Scott even refers to his Harry Potter creations as a "play":

Scott: When I'm at home I pretend I'm Harry Potter and just make up a little play.
Contessa: So you create your own little story?
Scott: Yes.
Contessa: Do you write it down or act it out?
Scott: Act it out.
Contessa: What do you act out?
Scott: I act out like when Harry Potter is learning Defense Against the Dark Arts, broomstick practice or Quidditch, or doing something like that. (Gardner 2005)

Amber also describes how she and her friends play Harry Potter, "My friends, we play Harry Potter, and one of my friends are Professor McGonagall, and I'm Hermione, and she's asking me questions to see if I know them. And I really like doing that. It's fun" (Moores 2005).

The children also demonstrated for me a very complex form of imitation and re-enactment. This happened in groups of two, Lyndsay and Lucas, and then followed by Amber and Scott. Each child performed a spell on the other, while the other responded to the spell. For example, when Amber recited her spell, Scott gave a bodily response to it (either with an imaginary jolt to his body, leaping backwards, jumping into the air, or writhing on the floor). What was interesting about this performance was the collaborative effort involved in perception, response and execution. Like a form of dance, the children demonstrate their understanding of what the spells mean, and illustrate their skill in responding to the spell cast at them by their partner. In fact, Amber and Scott were particularly excited to show me their display as they said they had practiced for the school talent show but were unable to perform on stage.

DIALECT IMITATION

Another way children partake in their play performance of Harry Potter is through dialect imitation. Obviously influenced by the Harry Potter films where each character is played by a British actor, these children mimic their favorite Harry Potter characters by reciting lines and spells in an English accent.

Contessa: Who is your favorite character in Harry Potter?
Amber: Hermonie.
Scott: Harry, Harry, Ron and Hermonie.
Amber: I like all three of them too.
Lyndsay: Hermonie. I can even do an impression.
Contessa: Oh, do you want to do it for us?
Lyndsay: Okay. [In English dialect] "Oh move over. Alohomora." It's from the first movie.
Contessa: That's very good. Anyone else do impressions?

Amber: Ahm, I can do it like, [English dialect] "It's not Wingardium Leviosa, its Wingardium Leviosa"
Contessa: That's good, that's really good. And how about you?
Lucas: I can do a Ron one. [English dialect] "We're done for!" (Gardner 2005; Moores 2005; Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

As for Nicholas, Mrs. Turner said, "He used to speak normal English, like with the accent, and he didn't realize he was doing it. Then he'd watch Coronation Street and say, 'Oh, that's like Harry Potter' "(S. Turner 2005).

Not only does the English dialect become a performance feature, but it illustrates their understanding of and acceptance of another language dialect. Such willingness to embrace different cultural forms is not something Arthur A. Levine, the American translator for Scholastic, would probably agree with. Stating that they were only trying to give American kids the same literary experience that a British kid could have (Nel 2002:26 1), Levine and Scholastic changed terms like sherbert lemon to lemon drop; motorbike to motorcycle; chips to fries; jelly to Jell-O; jacket potato to baked potato; jumper to sweater; mum to mom; trolley to cart; loo to bathroom; rubbish to crap; and the biggest in changing the title of the first book from *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* to *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (Nel 2002:262).

However, this decision came under heavy criticism for several reasons. Not only did Levine's editing often times change the poetic nature of the words, but as Philip Nel writes:

> In addition to highlighting America's disproportionate influence on global culture and effacing some of the book's Britishness, Scholastic's "translations" result in changes in meaning. Not only is "English muffin" different from "crumpet," but Sorcerer's Stone lacks reference to alchemy implied in Philosopher's Stone in the title of the British edition published by Bloomsbury in 1997. (2002:262)

Nel says that Scholastic's versions of the first three Potter novels are guilty of some degree of cultural imperialism (2002:263).

Ironically, regarding the word "rubbish," not only did the children I interviewed (who read the British/Canadian versions of the text) seem to understand the term but it was even used during the interview by two children. Although the second boy seems to have been copying the first boy, it is certainly a term well understood.

Contessa: What do, what do most adults think about Harry Potter? Or like, your parents? What do they all think about Harry Potter?
Lucas: Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh. My pop, he thinks it's ***rubbish***. He just thinks the idea of flying cars and all this owl-sending and, he just thinks it's weird and nuts. Like, how did they do it?
Contessa: Do you mean your dad or your grandfather?
Lucas: Ahm, my dad likes it, my mom enjoys it, my sister is like, "Oh, please!"
Contessa: Okay. How about you?
Scott: My uncle, my uncle, my dad's brother, he hasn't seen any of it, but he says, "Ah, that's ***rubbish*** b'y." My dad, my sister and my mom love it. (Gardner 2005; Snook 2005)

Such vocabulary illustrates the educational and cultural value of keeping texts in their original form, as "…awareness of national and cultural differences expands the reader's knowledge of the world" (Nel 2002:282.) This is particularly important when such novels are said to broadcast a version of late-twentieth-century Britain that has been absorbed by millions, and by "replacing British vernacular with what Americans think of as British vernacular diminished the novels' realism" (Nel 2002:267). Nel asks, "Why shouldn't children know there are other countries where things are done differently?' (2002:271).

Although one can blame "the global arrogance of the American" (Nel 2002:261), the fact is that many of the translations are also tied into marketing motives. To Scholastic, "translation" and "marketing" are indistinguishable. For example, words like FIREBOLT are printed in the text as advertisement logos: "Without changing anything we could snip this description from the novel, attach it to a broom, and place it in a display window," writes Nel (2002:273). As well, Scholastic's book jackets all have Harry Potter's name in a font that, "complete with its lightning bolt 'P', can only be described as a logo. Indeed, the font has become a logo, appearing in this format on Warner Brothers' film. " (Nel 2002:273). When considering such evidence, and considering of obvious understanding these Canadian children have of British vocabulary, as well as dialect, the real intentions of American translators becomes all too clear.

GAMES

While many of the children said they purchased manufactured Harry Potter board and video games, and visited official online Harry Potter websites, they also referred to several games which were entirely made up by their own local groups, outside of the corporate industry. One such game often takes place during lunch hour at Mary Queen of Peace school. Lyndsay and Britney invented a knowledge game based on Harry Potter trivia. Lucas also regularly participates in this lunch-time game. By using the Harry Potter series as their text book to draw questions and answers from, the children create a homemade, non-manufactured game; however, there are, of course, many manufactured games based on Harry Potter trivia which children can buy. And, although it is a child-created game, Lucas's description reveals this game to be highly structure with rules and procedures.

Contessa: Well, when you play your own quiz game, how do you get your questions? Do you pick them out yourself?

Lucas: No, we look in a book everyday and we pick out questions and write them on a piece of paper, and we'll go over in the classroom in a little circle and you have to slap your lap when you have it. And then you get like, and people say like, This one will be two points, and this one will be ten or five.

Britney: Once I had 30.

Lucas: Once I had 95.

Britney: Once I had 100.

Lyndsay: No you got like 999, didn't you?

Britney: Yeah.

Contessa: So, who made up this game?

Britney/ Lucas: I did.

Lyndsay: Me and Britney.

Contessa: You did? So, did you make up the rules too?
Lyndsay Me and Britney did, yeah.
Contessa: Okay, so you get in a circle, right? And then somebody got to the book to get questions, and you assign points to the questions?
ALL: Yes.
Lucas: We'll make a schedule and then people will have to like, to say like, ahm, how do they get to school in the second Harry Potter book? They go by car, and then that one would probably be like two points, so you put two strokes under your name, like, and you keep going with points.
Contessa; What happens with the winner?
Lucas: They get to go next time probably.
Contessa: And you play this at lunch-time?
Lucas: Yeah. (McInnis 2005; Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

Both the group of children and Nicholas also reported playing the traditional folk game of "tag" and adapting it to include the Harry Potter characters. "It" therefore becomes an evil character like Snape or Voldemort, and the children pretend to fly around on broomsticks and use their powers as they chase and pursue each other.

CHILDREN AS CO-CREATORS

My online research also revealed another unique ownership of the Harry Potter series in which children and adults extended narratives beyond Rowling's novels. Anchoring their stories in the Harry Potter world, some writers write themselves into the storyline, while others write existing characters into the realm of the romantic, subversive and forbidden. By writing fan-fiction or creating fan-art, children, in essence, become text producers and co-creators (Fiske 1989), taking part in a form of participatory literacy. Participatory literacy "describes the multiple ways readers take ownership of reading and writing to construct meaning situated within their own socio-cultural characteristics" (Bond and Michelson 2003:119). In this case, children as active readers interpret and discuss texts together, develop literary aesthetics and produce texts inspired by the original product (Jenkins 1992). As Jenkins notes, "Rather than being passive receivers of consumable texts fans are active participants who share their experiences and rework texts... the text becomes something more than it was before, not something less" (1992:52).

For example, in one fan-fiction story taken from the website www.harrypotterfanfiction.com, a fan (a.k.a sweat_sizzler) writes about a romantic interlude between Draco Malfoy and Ginny Weasley. In this story, Harry and several other characters are punished by Dumbledore for fighting on the train with Draco Malfoy. Dumbledore locks the group up together to resolve their differences. Ginny discovers a magical game of spin the bottle (traditional folk game with magical elements) in which the matching couples must date each other for a year. Ginny is matched with Draco, and they sneak off into the bathroom where they make out, for example:

> "Hey Ginny come here." Draco whispered in her ear.
>
> The two of them slipped into the bathroom while the bottle was still spinning. Draco locked the door.

> "What is it Draco, are you ok?" Ginny asked, sifting down on the bathtub ledge.
>
> "Yeah, its just." He leaned in and kissed her, but instead of fighting him off she pulled him into the bathtub... She pulled his shirt off and he was undoing her top when they heard someone say "Hey guys where's Draco and Ginny?"
>
> "Oh crap, Harry and Ron are going to kill me." Ginny said.
>
> "It's ok" Draco said pulling his shirt on as they began to bang on the door. (sweat_sizzler 2005)

Upon returning to Hogwarts they later learn that Dumbledore has also made the group room-mates, and must share a dorm together. Although the age of this writer is unknown, the innocent, yet sexually inquisitive nature of the story seems indicative to the interests of young, adolescent or teenage readers. Indeed, a survey of 33,000 archived fan-fiction stories on www.harrypotterfanfiction.com (as of August 8, 2006) reveals the genres of most interest to Harry Potter fan-fiction writers including drama, horror/dark, humor, mystery, action/adventure, angst. and romance. Most importantly, romance tops charts with over 65% of archived stories (21,923 stories to date), in which readers can further customize their reading experience by selecting the romantic pairing of their choice such as Harry/Ginny, and Ron/Hermione. Founded in February 2001, this website now boasts 110 million visitors per month (www.harrypotterfanfiction.com 2006).

Although thought to be predominantly a teenager's domain, fan-fiction is also created by young children. For example, in 2001, after the first movie release, and as a pre-kindergarten child, Nicholas drew a Harry Potter adventure book. Before he was even old enough to write, Nicholas dictated his pictures and words to his mother, father and babysitter. His book is filled with movie-inspired images including the "Harry on his Broomstick," "The Flying Car," and "Harry has Tea at Hagrid's Hut." However, Nicholas's collection also includes self-inspired pictures created on his own accord, such as "Pet Day at Hogwarts," "The Magic Necklace" (a necklace shoots magic powers out of the locket), and my personal favorite, "Harry on a Snowboard." In November 2005, Nicholas also drew some fan-art which included "Potter Puppet Pals Bothering Snape," this time focusing more on the drawings than on story creation.

Bond and Michelson write that this work "signifies a breakdown of the borders that, as adults, many of us have accepted as natural" (2003:113). By writing fan-fiction, children and adolescents wrestle the text away from the commercializers through their own vernacular construction of the books, their characters, plot lines and magical worlds. Indeed, while sometimes compliant with, or complementary to global industry management of the tradition, children are also frequently resistant to corporate domination. They illustrate this through their fan-fiction, despite being discouraged by corporate groups representing writers such as Rowling and Anne Rice. Rice has even made pleas on her website to discourage fan fiction involving her characters (Borah 2002:353). According to Jenkins (1992), fan fiction rebels against a culture owned by dispassionate corporations and attempts to restore a folk culture in which key stories and characters belong to everyone. This rebellion, says Amy Harmon, marks "a return to the folk tradition of participatory storytelling" (1997:1).

PARODY AS RESISTANCE

While a majority of academics suggest the global corporate world controls children's experiences and minds, children have, however, long resisted global influence and corporate domination through their cultural expressions. Besides creating fan-fiction, another way children extend, adapt and resist is through parody. As long as children have been buying into corporate culture, they have also been parodying it, and the Harry Potter phenomenon is no exception. In their book *One Potato, Two Potato: The Folklore of American Children*, Mary and Herbert Knapp, write:

> Parodies are more than high-spirited entertainment. They are a way of asserting one's perceptiveness and independence. We adults parody proverbs to show that we aren't taken in — by traditional wisdom in general, and by romantics, snobs, bureaucrats, and the like... (1976:161-2)

As well, Simon J. Bronner writes about parody:

> From nursery rhymes to television commercials, adults feed children messages. The barrage of repeated, adult-controlled messages is grist for the child's imaginative mill. Children are fond of parodying the standard and familiar, especially when in the process of doing so they can establish that they have a world of their own making. (1988:77)

In a discussion of children who parody ads and commercials (such as Pepsi, Coke, McDonalds, Blue Bonnet, Sani-Flush, and Oscar Mayer), the Knapps explain that "parody helps children's ability to defend themselves and fight against the intrusive, we-know-best-tone" (1976:165). In fact, the Knapps cite research paid and conducted by the advertising industry itself which confirms this supposition: "Second-graders are said to have a 'concrete distrust' of some commercials; by sixth grade the youngster's distrust is 'global' — they are suspicious of them all" (1976:162).

Although the Knapps specifically look at commercial parodies, I argue that this concrete distrust of imposing commercialism is also illustrated in children's Harry Potter parodies. Bronner writes, "Besides mocking nursery rhymes and television commercials, children are fond of parodying popular culture figures such as Tarzan and Superman, bringing them down to earth..." (1988:77). The Knapps also include examples of popular culture figures that children parody such as Robin Hood, Daniel Boone, the Addams Family, and Popeye. As well, my own research conducted in 1995 in a Grade three class at St. John Fisher Elementary School in Brampton, Ontario, revealed children's parody of Batman and Robin, Barney, and G.I. Joe. It is therefore no surprise that Harry Potter has been inducted into the parody hall of fame by children.

While conducting interviews, I discovered evidence of both two forms of parody — localized child generated parody and main-stream commercial parody. When asked if the children wrote their own Harry Potter stories or fan fiction, two girls said that while they never wrote their own stories, they created their own parody titles. These titles were inspired by the Nickelodeon s kid's sketch comedy show "All That." In this television program, young actors spoof Harry Potter in a sketch called, "Harry Bladder" in which: Harry Potter is Harry Bladder; Hermione is Her-hiney; Quidditch becomes Squidditch; magic potions class becomes magic lotions class; the children ride leaf-blowers instead of magic broomsticks; and instead of Harry sporting a lightening bolt scar, he's marked with a chicken wing. In response to Harry Bladder, Lyndsay and Britney came up with their own series titles based on Harry Potty. These include: Harry Potty and Philosopher's Toilet; Harry Potty and the Chamber of the Toilet; Harry Potty and the Prisoner of the Toilet; Harry Potty and the Goblet of Pee-Pee; Harry Potty and the Order of the Toilet; Harry Potty and the Half-Blood Toilet Paper.

Contessa: Have you written any stories about Harry Potter?
Brithey: Ah, me and Lyndsay, well we think of a story like Harry Potty.
Lyndsay: Tell her all the titles.
Britney: Like ahm, I forget the one for the fourth one.
Lucas: You named them all out for me.
Contessa: So you came up with all your own titles?
Britney: And, like, yes, we used somethings from Harry Bladder, it's a show.
Contessa: What's that?
Britney: It's like, it's ahm, there's a show it has like little short things, and it has Harry Bladder, and instead of broomsticks, it has leaf-blowers and stuff.
Contessa: Oh, and where did you read this or where did you see this, or did you make it up?
Britney: We made up Harry Potty, and a show made up Harry Bladder.
Contessa: Okay, what's the first title?
Britney: The first title. I'm pretty sure is, Harry Potty and the Philosopher's toilet.
Lucas: The second one is called like...
Lyndsay: Harry Potter and the Chamber of the toilet.
Lucas: Yeah, something like... And the third one is like...
Britney: The Prisoner of the Bathroom. [Laughter] The Goblet of Pee-Pee [Laughter]
Lucas: And the fifth on is like The Order of the Pooh.
Britney: No.
Lucas: The Order of the Toilet.
Britney: No.
Lucas: It's like the Order of the Toilet because like, their ordering the toilet instead of the phoenix.
Britney: Yeah, the Order of the Toilet, and the Half-Blood Toilet.
Lucas: The Half-Blood Toilet Paper.
Contessa: So why did you put them all, create them all as pee and toilet, and all that stuff? [Laughter] Why?
Lucas: Oh, oh, oh, oh.
Lyndsay: Because we wanted it to be funny. (McInnis 2005; Shears 2005; Snook 2005)

Combining parody with children's ever-present intrigue with toilet-humor, these children create their own parodied book titles stemming *from,* in this case, a mass-mediated source. My online research has revealed numerous personal Harry Potter parodies including Cleolinda Jones's retelling of the third Harry Potter film, "Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban in Fifteen Minutes" on her www.livejournal.com site. Research has also revealed commercialized parodies where, in essence, we see corporations profiting from the spoof of other corporations, for example, two performed sketches which appeared on NBC's *Saturday Night Live*. The first appeared on November 16, 2002 called "Welcome Back, Potter" (which placed Harry Potter in the Gabe Kaplan role from the 1970s sitcom *Welcome Back, Kotter*), and the other on May 1, 2004 called "Hogwarts Academy" (a sketch lampooning a suddenly buxom Hermione). As well, to date, MAD Magazine has produced one text-driven parody "Harry Plodder and the Kidney Stone" in March 2000, and four film based parodies including: "Harry Plodder and the Sorry-Ass

Story" in December 2001; "Harry Potter and the Lamest of Sequels" in December 2002; "Harry Potter and the Pre-Teen Nerds are Actin' Bad" in July 2004; and "Harry Potter Has Gotta Retire" in December 2005 ("Harry Potter Parodies" 2005).

But, outside of the commercial parodies, how do we account for the fact that these children love, or are fans of, these characters, but also participate in parodying and making fun of them? For the answer, I return to the Knapps who claim that by participating in commercial parody, children are learning to fight back at the advertisers who would teach them to say "gimme."

> But children don't tell their mothers not to buy these products. Rather, through the parodies they defend themselves against becoming mere bundles of reflexes that are dominated by the ads. They reserve for themselves the possibility of disagreeing, but they don't necessarily dislike the products. What they especially like is seeing the officious official world turned upside down (1976:165).

In this case, it is not that children dislike the Harry Potter character, books or movies, but what they dislike is, as the Knapps suggest, the "officious official world" of the Harry Potter industry. Children use parody to take ownership of and fight against the global corporate influence. I found an excellent illustration of this on a Harry Potter message board about Harry Potter spoofs (forums.harrypotterportal.com). Below, online fans of Harry Potter illustrate the fine line between making fun of something because they dislike it, and making fun of something because they love it. Quotes are given as they appeared online.

EmmaW8439: yeah i also saw the Nickelodeon spoof for harry Bladder. There are a lot of people at my school who have seen that and they think it's really funny. But when I talk about how much I like Harry Potter they just start making fun of it. It makes me mad.

Katherine_beeler: Nooooo! I would hate to see someone make fun of such a good series!

Tickled Dragon: Making fun of stuff doesn't get to me, cos normally at home we make fun of everything. It's only if someone's making fun of something because they hate it that it would get to me.

firebolt23: I wouldn't want to see anyone making fun of things I like. It wouldn't really get to me. If they do it for fun thats fine. I don't like it when they do it because they hate it.

Tickled Dragon: And finally, for FB23 - I know it's terrible when ppl make fun of HP because they hate it, I agree with you. But this isn't so much making fun of HP, more like, having a little fun with the HP characters by putting them in strange situations and making them say weird things and altering their characters and .... well, the point is, they're just writing stories for fun because they love the HP universe. (EmmaW8439 2002; Katherine Beeler 2002; Tickled Dragon 2002 and 2003: Firebolt23 2003)

Besides fending off corporate imposition and turning the official world upside down, parody can also illustrate, as Tickled Dragon suggests, reverence for the Harry Potter phenomenon. For example, when asked why they made up the Harry Potty parodies, Lyndsay simply states, "Because we wanted it to be funny" (Snook 2005).

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I present both the local and global effects of a children's literary phenomenon. I address how global corporations view children as passive receptors to the social-construction and merchandising of Harry Potter, ultimately affecting how scholars have typically approached the topic. More importantly, my research has shown children, in their appropriation, manipulation and creation of Harry Potter, to have both power and agency. Through their local displays of imagination, costuming, imitation, performance, play, games, fan-fiction, fan-art, and parody children illustrate their capacity to accept, re-create, as well as resist a phenomenon that pervades their everyday life.

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Turner-Vorbeck, Tammy. "Pottermania: Good Clean Fun or Cultural Hegemony?" *Harry Potter's World: Multidisciplinary Critical Perspectives.* Ed. Elizabeth E. Heilman. New York: Rutledge, 2003. 13-24.

Whited, Lana A. "Harry Potter: From Craze to Classic?" *The Ivory Tower and Harry Potter: Perspectives on a Literary Phenomenon.* Ed. Lana A. Whited. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002. 1-12.

Zipes, Jack. *Sticks and Stones: The Troublesome Success of Children's Literature from Slovenly Peter to Harry Potter.* New York: Rutledge, 2000.

CFS: 2006 ANNUAL MEETING

The Children's Folklore Section (CFS) of the American Folklore Society (AFS) met Thursday, October 19, 2006, from 12:00 noon – 1:30 pm, at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, held this year at the Hyatt Regency Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The meeting immediately followed the 10:15 am – 12:00 noon Children's Folklore panel that was sponsored by the section. Those present included Simon Bronner, Carole Carpenter, Irene Chagall, Bill Ellis, Gary Alan Fine, Dana Hercbergs, Miyuki Harayama, Tom Johnson, John McDowell, Jay Mechling, Priscilla Ord, Ian Russell, Chip Sullivan, and Bob Walser.

Tom Johnson, president and convener, called the meeting to order. Priscilla Ord, the secretary/treasurer asked if there corrections to the previous year's minutes; hearing none, except for suggesting the deletion of an extra *O* before her last name and questioning the number of years that the journal, including newsletters, had been published, she proceeded to the treasurer's report from figures provided to her from Tim Lloyd, the AFS executive director. These figures do not entirely match her records and may be amended at a later date following the AFS audit.

On August 31, 2005, there was $10, 915.00 in the CFS endowment. In the fiscal year ending August 31, 2006, the endowment earned $890.00 (8%) in the AFS investment pool managed by Smith Barney, bringing the total to $11,805.00. Income in the past year was derived from the following: Memberships, $525.00; *Children's Folklore Review* (*CFR*) subscriptions and back issues, $130.00 and $15.00, respectively; and the sale of Aesop Prize and Accolade seals, $18.00; for a total of $688.00. Expenses included postage for *Children's Folklore Review*, 138.04; camera-ready copy for *CFR*, $300.00; *CFR* editor's membership in CELJ (Council of Editors of Learned Journals), $30.00; 2000 Aesop Accolade Seals and camera ready files for both the Aesop Prize and Accolade imprints, $141.39; AFS administrative fee—based on 10% of the previous year's financial activity (revenue + expenses) + 2% of the previous year's investment balance, using the most recently year's financial audit (FY2005), $141.30; and "prize related costs," $184.34, for a total of $959.77. It is the "prize related costs, that cannot currently be reconciled. The amount of expenses over income amounted to $271.77.

Jay Mechling asked if the expenditures for Accolade seals and the imprints were justified, considering the amount of revenue they generated. Priscilla said that we had been totally out of Accolade seals and that neither of the seals had been actively marketed for the past several years. She intended to write to the authors and publishers of this year's winners and attempt to more actively market both seals to these parties.

Chip Sullivan, editor of *Children's Folklore Review* (*CFR*), reported that the journal is now published in a double volume once a year, and the Department of English at East Carolina University (ECU) continues to underwrite the $2,500 cost of publication. The next volume, number 29, will be composed of the papers that were presented in the panel chaired by Carole Carpenter in the session just prior to the meeting. Those who participated in the panel were:

Miyuki Hirayama (Ritsumeikan University) "Jizo-bon in Kyoto Today: Celebration of Children and Community"
Dana Hercbergs (University of Pennsylvania) "Playscapes: Traditional Games as Markers of Local Identity in and around Jerusalem"
C. W. Sullivan III (East Carolina University) "Seuss on the Loose: Children's Folklore on the Internet"
Carole Carpenter (York University) "Herbert Halpert: Childlore Scholar"

There was, picking up on last year's suggestion that the journal be "published" online, further discussion on the pros and cons of this possible change in format. Chip said that he could put new issues of *CFR* on the AFS website and back issues could be available on J-stor. Jay Mechling said that there could probably be better illustrations in an electronic version, but he wondered what the library subscribers, approximately 175, would do. When the transition takes place, members of the section would receive an e-mail notice with a link to the publication site. John said that he felt readership would increase.

Gail de Vos, chair of the Aesop Prize Committee, had sent Priscilla the list of this year's winners with both publication information and annotations, which she distributed. The 2006 Aesop Prize and Accolade winners are as follows:

2006 Aesop Prize

Bruchac, Marge. *Malian's Song.* Il. William Maughan. Middlebury, VT: Vermont Folklife Center 2005. ISBN: 0-916718-26-3.
Ragan, Kathleen, ed. *Outfoxing Fear: Folktales from Around the World.* New York: W. W. Norton, 2006. ISBN: 0-393-06036-5.

2006 Aesop Accolades

de Almeida, Livia, and Ana Portella. *Brazilian Folktales.* Ed. Margaret Read MacDonald, Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2006. ISBN: 1-56308-930-0
Powell, Patricia Hruby. *Chál tó yinílo': frog brings rain.* Flagstaff, AZ: Salina Bookshelf, 2006. ISBN: 1893354083

Members of this year's committee, in addition to Gail, were Brian Sturm, University of North Carolina, and Kay Stone, University of Winnipeg.

Gail also stated that Kay Stone did not wish to continue as a member of the committee; therefore, two new members needed to be selected to join Brian who would succeed her as chair. Irene Chagall, an independent research associate at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife & Cultural Heritage, and Bob Walser, University of Aberdeen, volunteered to join the committee. Submissions for the coming year should be sent to each of the following: Irene Chagall, 504 Shoreline Highway, Mill Valley, CA 94941; Brian Sturm (Chair), School of Information and Library Science, CB#3360, 100 Manning Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3360; and Robert Young Walser, 2308 Fremont Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55045.

Addenda: Several months after our meeting in Milwaukee, we learned that Brian had selected two people to join him on the committee. They are Vicky Dworkin, Hawai`i State Library, Edna Allyn Room for Children, 478 South King Street, Honolulu, HI 96813, and Rosemary Vohs, Woodring College of Education, Western Washington University, 516 High Street, Bellingham, WA 98225-9088. John McDowell, as president, decided to retain all four new members on the committee.

Jay Mechling asked if our goals in establishing the prize and accolade lists are being met. Priscilla, Carole, and several others indicated that there has been a definite increase in information about the origin of the folklore and citations for the sources being included in books, not just for books containing folklore but history and other topics in published books for children. Seals on the books, particularly for small presses, have been a positive form of advertising. Even more, however, has to be done to make more people aware of the various winners. Priscilla will send out prize lists to appropriate publications and media, as well as market the seals to winning authors and publishers. She also said that certificates, produced by Richard McClintock at Hampden-Sydney College, will, once again, be sent to all listed winning authors, editors, illustrators, and publishers.

Chip announced the winner of the 2006 Newell Prize. She is Contessa Small, an undergraduate student at Memorial University. The title of her paper is "Co-Creating Harry Potter: Local Expressions of a Global Phenomenon." A notice for professors to submit undergraduate papers for the $100 prize will be placed in *JAF* (*Journal of American Folklore*) and the AFS *Newsletter*, as well as *CFR*.

There were no submissions for the Opie Prize or nominations for the Life Achievement award.

Discussion then turned to the section's webpage, which is accessed from a link on the AFS webpage. Jay suggested and then moved that the CFS webpage should have links to other organizations and sites. John, who seconded the motion, felt the page should serve as a forum for us, and said he will serve as the liaison to AFS for link suggestions. Some of the types of links to be considered were those to collections, prizes and past winners of prizes, syllabi and programs, grant proposals, research, teaching resources, and the like. All suggestions should be sent to John.

Jay suggested that an e-list of members be created. Priscilla said that she would attempt to do this.

Tom reminded us that it was necessary to (s)elect his successor. John McDowell consented to serve as the next president and convener of the section. Chip and Priscilla will continue in their positions as editor and secretary/treasurer, respectively.

Carole announced that she had visited with Letty Halpert who is doing well, and she had also recently heard from Linda Morley, who is also well. Her library had been given to the University of New Hampshire.

Priscilla suggested that, when we are in Canada next year, Herbert Halpert be awarded a Life Achievement Award for his childlore scholarship posthumously. Gary felt that a committee should look over the requirements for this and the section's other awards. It was decided that he and Tom would form a committee to do so. This includes the Life Achievement Award, the Newell Prize, and the Opie Prize.

Suggestions for a panel for next year's meeting included "Images of Childhood in Japanese Popular Culture" and "French North American Children's Lore."

The next meeting of the Children's Folklore Section will take place during the 2007 AFS annual meeting in Quebec, October 17-21.

Respectively submitted,

Priscilla A. Ord, Secretary/Treasurer

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Respectively submitted,

Priscilla A. Ord, Secretary/Treasurer

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Newell Prize

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award) for the best student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition.

Papers must be typed, double spaced, and on white paper. On the first page, include the author's name, academic address, home address, telephone numbers, and e-mail address. Deadline for each year's competition is September 1st. Submit papers or write for more information to Dr. C.W. Sullivan III, English Department, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC, 27858-4353. SullivanC@ecu.edu

Children at Risk

Policy Press announces the publication of *Growing Up With Risk*, eds. Betsy Thom, Rosemary Sales, and Jenny Pierce.

Focusing on children and young people, *Growing Up With Risk* provides a critical analysis of ways in which risk assessment and management are defined and applied in policy, theory, and practice. The book offers valuable insight into the complexities of balancing responsibility and protecting the young with the benefits of risk taking and the need to allow young people to experiment.

More information can be found at: www.policypress.org.uk